

Kannada Research Lectures Series No. 2

THREE LECTURES

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BY

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COIMBATORE

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FOREWORD

The following pages embody a course of three lectures delivered by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., retired Superintendent for Epigraphy, Coimbatore, under the auspices of the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, on 6th, 7th and 8th January 1941, on (1) The Method of Historic Research and (2 & 3) Some Dark Spots in the History of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Mr. Aiyar is well-known to the students of South Indian research through his numerous contributions to the *Epigraphia Indica* and by the publication of the volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions*, the *Travancore Archaeological Reports* and the *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan* etc. His active service and experience in the Epigraphical Department for over thirty years have lent a special value to the views expressed in these lectures.

In the first lecture, the learned lecturer gives some specific instructions for a research student in the method of proper assessment of the material at his disposal. Since the inscriptions are the main source of information, he rightly emphasises on the need of their correct decipherment, faithful interpretation and proper valuation of the details of information contained in them, for reconstructing the history of our land. His remark "Though in all inquiries, intellectual competence, admitted truthfulness, immunity from prejudice and freedom from temptation to shift facts can secure credibility, yet.....it is advisable that prominence is first given to the textual statements and whatever we may have to say is made to bear on them, so that the full implication might be brought out " deserves to be borne in mind by every student of antiquarian research. It should be noted that in handling inscriptions, one has frequently to press into service the science of etymology and philology, legends, miracles and traditions etc., consistent with the subject. The statement that inscriptions and

Smṛitis are inter-related to each other and either of them might be reasonably expected to throw light on the other and that a correct knowledge of the Smṛitis is therefore indispensable, is most valuable since it opens up a new line of approach to the interpretation of the obscure texts of early inscriptions, particularly those bearing upon the nature and functions of the constitutional bodies mentioned in them, which have not been understood so far in their true perspective.

In the second and third lectures, Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar discusses at length many points of interest which awaited a clear elucidation in the ancient history of the Dekkan and Karnatak. He holds that Akālavarsha Śubhatuṅga mentioned in the spurious Mercara plates of the Western Gaṅga king Avinīta is a historical person and an earlier Rāshtrakūṭa king whom the Western Chalukya Jayasimha I is said to have defeated and that Prithivīduvarāja mentioned in the Kopparan plates as a subordinate of Pulikēsin II is to be identified with Prithivī Yuvarāja figuring in a Chezerla inscription of the time of the early Pallava king Mahēndravarmān I. From the Garuḍa banner and the title *Janapadādhipati* etc., the latter chief is taken to be a scion of the Rāshtrakūṭa extraction. It has thus been shown that the Rāshtrakūṭas were first subordinate to the Chalukyas of Bādāmi in the 7th century A. D. who in turn were subdued by the former under Dantidurga in the 8th century A. D. From a study of the the distinctive epithets applied to the early Chalukya kings in inscriptions, Mr. Aiyar has deduced that the term Vallabha or Vallabharāja denoted the kings of that family only and that accordingly, the Vallabha described as fighting with the Rāshtrakūṭas was a Chalukya prince and not one member fighting against another of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. It is further shown that the Vallabhas ultimately retrieved the fortunes of their family by defeating Kakkala in the last quarter of the 10th century A. D. Thus, Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar has supplied the missing links between the earlier and the later members of the Chalukya family

by bringing to view their political position under the Rāshtrakūṭas during the period of ascendancy of the latter.

Another noteworthy point deserving special mention is the successful attempt of the lecturer* to disprove the theory of dispute about succession among almost all the Rāshtrakūṭa kings, which has been accepted as an established fact by scholars so far. Mr. Aiyar has devoted a good amount of space for the discussion of the political situation at the commencement of each reign beginning with Dantidurga, and has shown that there was perfect amity and good will between the several rulers of the family : not only of the main branch of Mālkhēḍ but between the chiefs of the Gujerāt and Mālkhēḍ branches as well. Mr. Aiyar's remarks on the subject are worthy of reproduction here:— “ One of the acts that mars the fine history of the Rāshtrakūṭa family, as we have it represented, is that at the commencement of the reigns of almost all the kings of this line, there has been a dispute about succession, a feature that is seldom met with in any other annals of Indian Kingdoms and that is hardly possible to be found in a family of kings who had good schooling in *Dharma* before assuming the royal purple, who were surrounded by fearless and learned councillors with good family tradition and high character and who had for their guidance the *Smṛitis* propounded by wise sages and the *Itihāsas* that put the principles in practical examples ”.

I am indebted to Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar for the solid contributions he has made in these lectures to the study of the history of Karnatak.

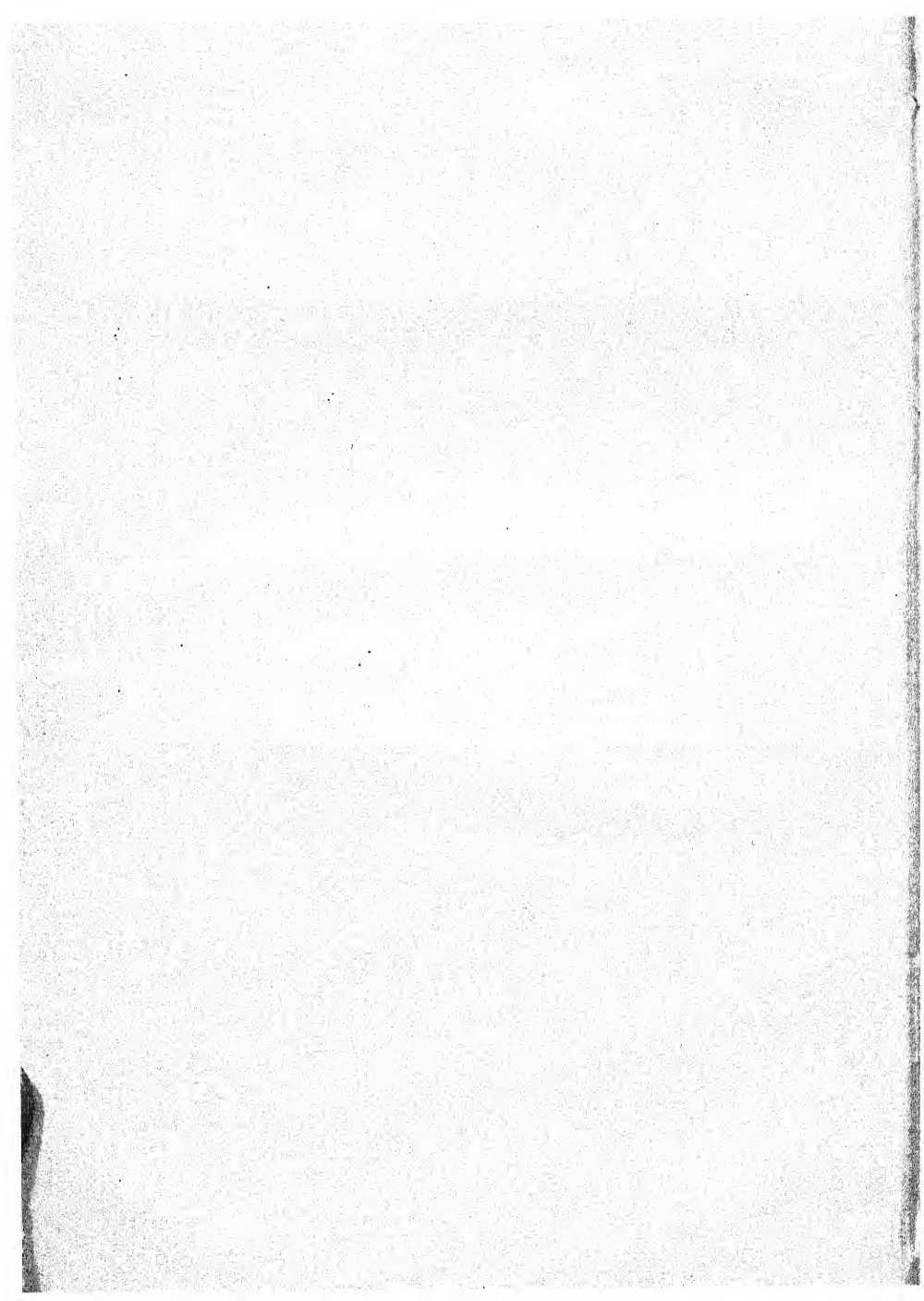
KANNADA RESEARCH
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30-3-1941

R. S. Pauchamukhi,
Director of Kannada Research



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Method of Historic Research

MR. PANCHAMUKHI AND MEMBERS OF THE BOARD,

Let me first of all thank you for the honour you have done me in asking me to deliver a course of lectures on some topics connected with Research. Being one interested like you in the study of the past greatness of this country, it affords me great pleasure to respond to your request. But if you pitch your expectations high, I may tell you that you must be prepared for disappointment. I had often thought that the cause of research could be better advanced by a body of scholars taking to the work than by the efforts of single individuals however qualified the latter may be. Even individual scholars that had been working in the field, I am inclined to believe, must have necessarily sought the aid of others in arriving at a satisfactory solution of many a difficult problem that naturally crop up in the course of the enquiry. Two or more heads are sure to bring out other possibilities of a case than what one alone could do. It is the consideration and just disposal of such possibilities that really contribute to the ascertainment of truth. The task of search after truth is no doubt noble, but the difficulties that stand in the way are many. Your attempt to work in company is a sound one, and I trust that very soon many will follow the example you are setting. I could conceive that there are several impediments in organising a work of this nature. First and foremost is a proper equipment without which no tangible headway can be made: and this means money. Next you have to gather together a band of ardent men with aptitude for the task i. e. men with a real love for this kind of labour, which more often yields scant return, with an amount of patience, which is not always

adequately compensated, with a zeal for study in the midst of cares, and with an ardour for search which is not infrequently tantalizing. Men who will not care either for the encomium of the benevolent or the calumny of the slanderer and whose only reward is the joy inherent in the discovery of truth, will indeed be not many. Last, but not the least, is the guidance of an expert who, working along with the apprentice is willing to take him practically through all the varied kind of work involved in research, ranging from the purely mechanical to the highly intellectual. In spite of these difficulties, it appears that the only way of handling the vast mass of South Indian epigraphs, tens of thousands in number, which require the enlistment of the services of a number of men and for which adequate attention is not paid at present, is by the formation of bodies of research scholars and taking up to the work seriously. The publication of volumes of bare texts of inscriptions, can at best be called an attempt to save the impressions secured at some cost from becoming a prey to white ants and rats, and making their contents available to the study of those who know the several languages. Very few would really have been profited by the texts. It is a matter for regret to have bid farewell to the interpretations of the inscriptions. It is highly necessary not only to revive the old publication of South Indian Inscriptions with translations accompanied by full notes and discussions, but also open the pages of it to receive the contributions from competent scholars and to run it on the same lines as the *Epigraphia*; the latter publishes in two years something like 35 to 40 articles. In the absence of a government organ devoted exclusively to the scientific interpretations of South Indian inscriptions, it is only private body or bodies that must do it and the ways and means of accomplishing it must be thought out.

The subject of 'Method of Historic Research' is not one in which novelty of treatment might be expected. It is not my object to point out defects in the system of scientific enquiry that is obtaining in the field of research. I believe that the subject

is one that cannot be too frequently talked about. Like the conning of prayers and the repeating of the sacred injunctions of a teacher to his disciple which act as corrective to the erring humanity, this may serve the useful purpose of reminding one's limitations and latitudes. Sometimes the results obtained in the application of certain dictum or rule might suggest a wholesome change which needs be taken note of. Though the subject is a general one with a wide ground before it, I have thought it fit to confine myself to such aspects of it as are in application by research scholars in the field of Ancient Indian History. The principles that are put forth in this short sketch are those which have been found employed by competent men who have devoted their labours to the cause of research in this line for long years. Some of them may have been anticipated by others more competent to pass opinions in the matter, but it will be conceded readily that we are not barred from passing through the same ground again. Some years ago, in the convocation addresses of our universities, graduates leaving colleges were repeatedly told that a wide field was open to them in the research work of the country and they were exhorted to take it up seriously. That these remarks had not fallen on deaf ears is clearly proved by the fact that we have now quite a good number of them devoting their leisure hours to the pursuit of this work. There are many who evince a strong desire to work in the field, but have not the necessary facilities to carry it out. This is specially the case with all those that are in the mofusal. (The efforts of some show that they do it with little or no method, there being no experts to guide them or set rules to observe).

It has often been said that India has no written history and that the materials for constructing it are scanty. The truth of this statement used to be generally admitted without any reservation. But so far as it relates to South India, it may be said that the remark is not entirely true. The history of the Dekhan is written not in one place, but in hundreds of places; not

in one script but in several ; not in the flimsy perishable pages of paper or parchment but on hard and comparatively more permanent materials such as stone, metals and the like, with such details as could not be traced in the history of any other nation. The monuments of past ages of South India are not either few like those of other countries or for the matter of that, of other parts of our own land. The relics of greatness of our kings and people are scattered over places far and wide, and the triumphs achieved by them in the several departments of life have left unmistakable marks throughout the land. For one who has acquired an insight into the nature of these remains, the moment he steps into an ancient shrine he sees in the very hand of the successive generations of people, certain authentic and trustworthy documents. They reveal the power of the Indian kings, the state of civilisation reached by the people, their occupation, the various institutions of government, the safety of person and property, the taxes raised, the benefits which the people obtained from the rulers, the minute system of land measurement, the net work of their irrigation system, the management of their religious endowments and the like. But these interesting accounts remain a sealed book to most people. To help us in the correct understanding of these records, we have the literature of the people, which supplies valuable information on several important topics connected with history, the writings of foreign travellers, both oriental and occidental, the chronicles of the Singhalese people, the numerous coins which the tilling instruments of the farmer unearths from oblivion and finally the traditional accounts current in the country, which throw a flood of light on the past history of the Dekhan. These auxiliary departments open up fresh fields of enquiry. Such being the case, the general complaint regarding the paucity of materials required for building up the history of the past, though true to a certain extent on account of their being not made available to us, is not valid. There is no room to think that the ground is as barren as it is represented to be. The country is rich in

architectural monuments dating back to very early times, with sculptures of great beauty and skilful workmanship, in coins belonging to various dynasties of kings, in an inexhaustible mine of lithic records which tell the tales of olden times and in an interesting collection of literary works of great merit. Traditions and legends abound and await careful examination. Such and so varied are the materials before the student of Historic Research.

Even a few years ago, it was believed that in spite of its high Dravidian culture, isolated as South India was from the North by natural barriers which prevented a free communication with it, and from the absence of native chronicles to record the historical events of past times, its history prior to A. D. 1000 had almost perished and that no connected account of the national transactions of South India in early times could be written. Events relating to the kingdoms of the Dekhan for several centuries prior to the 11th have now been unfolded thanks to the exertions of a handful of scholars, and more is being done every day. This leaves little room for such despair now.

Apart from the general interest that the research work affords, there is a special attraction in the investigation about the past of South India. As we turn the leaves of any early work on the subject of history, we find that in the past ages prominence is mostly given to the doings of kings. The life and growth of the nation as well as its social progress are entirely kept in the background. This is justifiable to some extent as the kings were everything in ancient times and the people played an insignificant part in the government of the country. It is only in later times that the nation has organised itself and developed to such an enormous magnitude that it is impossible now to write the modern history of any western country without adequately dealing with the growth of the nation and the progress of the society. On the other hand, the student of Indian History finds to his surprise that in Ancient India, the king had almost little to do with the internal administration of the country, which was left entirely

to be managed by bodies of learned men who formed the village assembly. It is the doings of those that constitute the history so called of the South.

The system of government by assemblies and the representation of the interest of the people in them by members is not peculiar to India alone. Such a mode of rule can be traced in other countries as well. But in India what strikes the historian most is the considerable progress made by these bodies of men from early times and the autonomous power which the people had secured even then. This system which was in vogue in South India in very early ages had continued to hold its own up to very recent times in all parts of the land which had not been affected by foreign contact. The king and his officers—who were also numerous—looked after the collection of taxes, the military and foreign affairs and exercised a sort of appellate authority over the transactions of the popular assemblies. It appears that it was possible, in ancient times, under the system then prevalent, for a ryot to look after his business in the field unmolested even at a time when war was raging in the country. But there are stray instances where an Indian king, not satisfied with the conquests he effected, burnt down villages, allowed plundering and caused misery and annoyance to the people. These facts are traceable in some of the records relating to South India. But these are exceptions and not the rule.

Inscriptions form the bulk of the material for the reconstruction of the ancient history of the South. Though when considered piecemeal some of these are not comparatively so valuable as individual records found in other parts, yet their importance in giving detailed information on the varied aspects of the life and culture of the people is very great. The lack in the one case is more than compensated by the number which exceeds several times that of any other tract in India or elsewhere.

Unlike most of the inscriptions found in other parts of the country South Indian inscriptions have a peculiar interest to

students of research. As one goes through the ancient lithic monuments of the *Tamil* country, the sentences wherein cover several pages of writing with constant recital of involved lengthy passages laden with clauses and sub-clauses,—verily put in the form of long winding conveyances of modern days,—he meets with stumbling blocks of technical terms, the meanings whereof very often baffle the understanding, the etymology suggesting a sense quite inappropriate for the place and occasion of their use. In some, we have minute descriptions of the official machinery with all its ramifications from the king down to the menial. Some others present fine pictures in attractive colours of the day to day life of all classes of people and a few others give panoramic views of different aspects of Indian culture of past ages. When we peruse the records of the Telugu and Kannada districts, we meet with a profusion of metrical descriptions not only of the kings, his feudal lords, his departmental ministers, and the worthy donors and their accomplished ancestors, but also of the geography of the country and of the matter of fact grants themselves. The inscriptions of the border lands,—such as South Kanara, Malayalam and Vizagapatam, — present boquets of words of philological interest sometimes affording us clues as to wherefrom they were picked, but very often defying any divination of their origin.

As the entire edifice of history is to rest on the strength of the text of the inscriptions, it is but just to insist on bestowing great care on decipherment. Many doubts and difficulties that present themselves at the first reading of inscriptions are removed by happy suggestions arising in the continued study of the same record and sometimes of other allied ones. Older generations had had good schooling in this respect : they copied down Vedic texts and Itihāsas which they held sacred and dear, nay even other works, with such sincerity that we are made to marvel at them. In many cases the neatness of execution leaves nothing to be desired. They took no liberty with texts even when assured of

mistakes. Suggestions of errors were consigned to the margins. How we wish we have the confidence to declare :—

Yādriṣaṃ pustakaṃ dṛiṣṭaṃ tādriṣaṃ likhitaṃ mayā !

Yadi śuddhaṃ aśuddhaṃ vā mama dōṣhō na vidyatē !!

To put it briefly, that transcript which does not reproduce the text with all its faults and mistakes, is not of much value.

As it is the translation that is more often referred to for information, it is indispensable that it must be accurate, literal and intelligible. Where debatable words or passages occur, the rendering must be followed by notes justifying it. Doubtful words and passages, whose meanings are un-intelligible, needs to be noted down and reserved for the determination of their import by comparison with similar ones occurring in others. Inscriptions teem such words. In the determination of the sense of technical terms, with etymology by itself has been found to be an unsafe guide. I shall say something about this later on. Abstracts of contents are more often—though not always—an excuse for inability to understand the correct conception of the original, in all its intricacies and details : and an assured rendering of a clearly un-intelligible word or passage is liable to do more harm than good. In corrupt texts it is better to point out the real difficulties than slur them over by confident renderings.

Of the several aspects which an inscription presents for study, palaeography *i. e.* the form of writing is one. Since most of the South Indian records are not dated in any particular era, a careful study of the palaeography becomes a necessity. Such a study enables us to fix the approximate period when a record should have been incised on stone or copper. It may not be out of place here to note that there are differences in the writings of two records of the same date even if they come from the same place when the materials on which they are incised are different. The difference in the material accounts for the slight variation in the writing of a copper plate and a stone inscription of the same time.

Again differences in characters are observable between two epigraphs incised on the same material, if they come from different places. This is because the engravers are different. But it must be said that the differences in the writing in all these cases are not such as to mislead one, if he is careful. That variations exist is enough to show that we should bestow serious thought on palaeography. Though palaeography forms a guide to a student in handling documents, too free a use is sometimes made of it. It is therefore necessary to sound a note of caution against such a usage. Let me make the point clear. When a number of records of sure dates had not been obtained, studied and published in any script, it would be absurd to adduce palaeography as a ground for assigning even the approximate period of a record. In the case of a few inscriptions, which furnish astronomical details, it becomes easy to ascertain the exact date, the approximate time being known from palaeographical grounds. A handful of inscriptions with Śaka dates or dated in other known eras are also found and these help us to fix the time of other allied documents.

Palaeography being only a general indicator of time, its province of usefulness is limited. It cannot be too much pressed into service. It seems unsafe to depend solely upon it to determine whether a record is posterior to or anterior to another drawn up almost in similar type. It must first be realised that we have not got access to any original document at all but are only dealing with their copies. Some of what we call 'original or genuine inscriptions' may after all be second or third hand copies. The first copy might have been in the secretariat and the second in the temple treasury or in the safes of the village or district assemblies and these might have been written in the hand of the more literate officials than the inscriptions, which are copies of them and which, as testified to by the remarks occurring at the end of the epigraphs, is the work of scribes (stone masons: *Tachchāchāriyan*) who have learned to incise letters on stone or other materials. The office of scribe was

held hereditarily in ancient days. True that the art of incising, as indeed of other arts, had been carried to excellence. But it does not follow that the scribes as a class were above erring. They were human beings and shared human defects. Generally speaking most of them did their work with sincerity for which they have our admiration. The whole secret about the engraving of inscriptions is still not revealed. In the case of lithic documents, this much may be safely said that the inscription was first written down on stone with a sort of red paint and then they were incised. Whether the engraver himself painted the letters on stone from copies on palm leaves or other materials, or some others did it for them is still an unsolved problem. Our own shortcomings prompt us to be generous enough to allow the same to the poor scribes. (In parenthesis I may add that the very scholars, who had devoted more time than others in tracing and recording the changes which letters had undergone in subsequent periods, have committed shocking blunders in reading inscriptions: this only affords us a warning to be more careful: the mistakes of others serve to correct us.) We have had hundreds and even thousands of inscriptions. I have not met with a single reference anywhere to the forging of documents. It may be admitted that forging might have been attempted to secure title to property. But such could have been easily detected and the criminal brought to book by the system then in vogue, *i. e.* by a reference to the copies preserved and the notes made in the various books of the account departments and in the safes of the assembly or the temple. The absence of references in inscriptions to forgeries seems to indicate that they were rarely attempted. We have numerous references to the taking down of copies of old inscriptions and re-engraving them: but none of forging. Some of the re-engraved inscriptions clearly indicate that those who took down copies of earlier records were not good epigraphists and could not well make out the original: they made several kinds of blunders. On this account, the records are not entitled to be termed 'forgeries' we have no good reasons to spurn them. We

may condemn the copyists for his defects and note the unsound parts. Copies are not bad to be used. Lawyers use copies of depositions taken down by their own men, imperfect though they be. Judges proceed on the contents of certified copies though the certification is only at the end. Want of certification cannot bar the use, if the copies are good.

In any case, every inscription before it is condemned as 'spurious' or 'forged' needs be noted in what parts they are unsound or incapable of credence. If inscriptions could only be termed later copies, whether so specified by the writer or could be so inferred, the grounds for rejecting any part of the information contained in them should be recorded. The detection of a number of evident mistakes of spelling, or the presence of a few misshapen letters or the fact that the calligraphy is not of the time to which the record should be attributed on other good grounds, are not sufficient for spurning them.

When I say so much, let it not be understood that I attach no value for palaeography. Far from it. I would only say that it will be unfair to condemn copies of inscriptions or any part of them, without sufficient grounds.

It has been the rule in our country that all public documents should first receive the assent of the king before the transactions contained in them are engraved on stone or copper, the object of such engraving being to prevent any misuse of the original intentions. It may be said that both the people and the officers of government were guided by these documents in ancient times. Naturally therefore they often bear the regnal years of the kings and a short description of their achievements. The historical introductions furnished in inscriptions are of value to us for the construction of the political history. If the record is one on copper, it bears even the seal of the king. While utilising the information contained in inscriptions which do not bear the proper name of the king but only the title, one had to

be very careful because it was customary in those days for sovereigns to assume certain titles by which they were known in common with a few others. To give an example, the Chōla kings bore the titles Rājakēsari and Parākēsari alternately. Similarly the Pāṇḍyas had the titles Mārañjaḍaiyan and Saḍayamāran, the Rāshtrakūṭas Akālavarsha etc. Very often even a name was borne by more than one sovereign of a single dynasty just as there are Edwards, Georges and Henrys, there were Rājarājas, Rājēndrachōlas, Kṛishṇas, Gōvindas and Narasimhas. It becomes sometimes difficult to determine to which particular king of that name the record must be relegated. In the accounts of the sovereigns, we meet with the names of contemporary kings which were also borne by more persons than one. The indentifications have to be effected with care.

Inscriptions furnish valuable information regarding the ancient geography of the country. Numerous villages are mentioned as being situated in districts: and the divisions to which the latter belonged are also given. By collecting together the villages and identifying them, we can determine the extent of districts and divisions that were comprised in a particular province (*maṇḍala*). As a rule, each provincial chief had a capital city or cities, one or more *nāḍus* and a hill. Generally the ancient names of villages and provinces did not undergo any change even though they were conquered by neighbouring kings and invested with duplicate names. Wars were numerous and they were undertaken to establish the supremacy of kings, but not necessarily for annexation. Once an enmity is created, it continued for years with varying successes. The injunctions of Dharmaśāstras,—*viz*, that war must be had recourse to as the last resort when the three expedients failed, and that when the conquest is effected, the territory must be left in charge of a member of the vanquished monarch,—give room for holding that the ancient kingdoms remained unaffected by the results of war. Limits of kingdoms must have changed. Annexation of territories seldom occurred: and even when they occurred, it

did not affect the geography of the place. Sometimes the conquerors,—mostly the Pallavas and Chōlas,—gave fresh names to villages and provinces which they overcame, but these did not replace the older names but were added to them to indicate by the mere mention of the names with the surnames, to whom or which country the places originally belonged and who acquired it in later times. The conquerors themselves took care to preserve the ancient territorial names. There is good scope for making out the ancient geography and it is a field in which much has not been yet done. Hills, rivers or streams, sea-coasts and such other natural objects mostly mark the limits of the districts and divisions. Inscriptions afford unerring clues in some instances, to where we could locate some of the rare mountains, rivers and *tirthas*. For instance if we take into consideration the fact that a territorial magnate of the time of the Pallava king Mahēndravarmān I was styled *sitētara Beṇṇānātha* and *Trikūṭaṭaparatapati*, we could say that Trikuṭapārvata must be in the region of the Kṛishṇā river. Though Beṇṇā or Vēṇī was the name of one of the tributaries of the Gōḍavari, it is excluded by the fact of the application of the epithet *sitētara*. A study of the later appellations given to places sometimes enables us to say when a conquest of a territory should have been effected. It will also help us in fixing the surnames of kings. In the heart of the Chōla dominions we find villages bearing the surnames Simhaviṣṇu-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam, Mahēndramaṅgalam and Narasiṃhachaturvēdimaṅgalam, and a temple called Pallavanichchuram so early as to be celebrated in the hymns of a Śaiva saint of the 7th century A.D. The earliest name Simhaviṣṇuchaturvēdimaṅgalam indicates that Simhaviṣṇu must have conquered the Chōla country. The Vēlūrpālayam plates actually tell us that he did so.

About the language of inscriptions and its attractions for the research student much could be said. The correct understanding and interpretation of the various subjects treated in inscriptions demand from the student a wide range of study. At least, he is

forced to learn many things from many sources as occasions arise. The lover of literature can find here many a forgotten worthy who could take honourable places among the galaxy of writers. A lover of writing can easily pick numerous fine passages, telling expressions and good models of easy flowing, direct and forceful narrations. A conveyancer without effort, can make a reference book of various kinds of instruments. A lexicographer can collect hundreds of new words. The philologists and etymologists have a wide field to display their skill of interpreting and to make note of curiosities of changes of words. And those who are interested in the study of the nature and function of the ancient institutions which are but meagerly noticed in the Hindu Dharmaśāstras will have full scope here. The administrator, if he is curious, can find here how State problems relating to Health and Sanitation, Co-operation and Rural Banking, Education, Town-Planning, Maintenance of Law and Order, Irrigation and the like, had been solved by the ancients in this land of various nationalities and various creeds. When I recount to you that the subjects treated in inscriptions are so many and so varied, you will certainly know how the research student should equip himself to do full justice to the task before him. He will not think that he has done his work satisfactorily by carefully deciphering the hieroglyphic of inscriptions, translating as best as he could or giving an abstract of contents, and by handling a few facts revealed in them concerning the transactions of kings.

A research scholar has before him a good number of valuable documents of various nature which require his careful handling. He cannot afford to treat lightly even a single record however small or trifling its contents may be. It is expected that he would bestow the same consideration to this as he would to the one furnishing much interesting matter.

It is within our knowledge that differences of opinion are entertained even by experts as regards the matter contained in

documents. While one calls it a conveyance, another gives considerations for taking the same for an agreement and the third holds that it is a bond or mortgage. The same is the case with some inscriptions. As the bulk of the material, both literary and epigraphical, which relate to South India, is in one or other of the Dravidian languages, any one who wants to handle these inscriptions, if he should at all make a judicious and correct use of these, a knowledge of the Dravidian languages should possess. Not only should he be conversant with the literary form of them but must know well the colloquial forms used in the daily life of the people and that employed in documentary scrolls.

Before the historian makes use of the contents of a document it is incumbent that he should see whether they are authentic in themselves. Here I may note that there is less chance of tampering with lithic records than those on copper plates, because the latter are in the custody of persons who could at their leisure effect any secret mischief to suit their purpose. There is little room to do the same with stone records kept in public places like the temple or other monuments. Generally speaking, therefore, better reliance could be placed on this class of documents.

Inscriptions when they are dated in any particular era *e. g.* Śaka, Vikrama, Kollam etc. coupled with cyclic years, it must be seen whether the latter correspond to the former. When these are found to be widely at variance, there is an indication that some time must have elapsed between the actual date of the grant and the time of incising and more care must be bestowed regarding their dates. The form of the language and the terms used in the documents, if properly studied, would also furnish clues to test if they are distant copies. A close study of the characters of the records will also be of immense help in this direction. For example, if an inscription which pretends to belong to an early period is written in the script of a later date, unquestionably it is a copy. A careful examination of the signatories, who would in most cases be officers of kings, would also enable one to find out if a document

is genuine or not. Even when the documents are found to disclose discrepancies in some respects, they cannot, on that score alone, be rejected or despised as worthless. An endeavour should be made to ascertain if other parts of them are sound. Inscriptions in which the date portion is clearly wrong are not rare. Many of them, which furnish astronomical details, have on verification been found to be incorrect and yet we have no reason to doubt their authenticity, the errors in these cases being due to the carelessness of the scribes. In spurious records generally, the unreliable portions are those relating to grants. The geographical description given in them, if they are not far distant from the dates of issue, need not be looked upon as incredible or valueless. The historical facts noticed in such documents have to be subjected to scrutiny.

One other point to which attention may be drawn is the verification of the astronomical details of dates furnished in inscriptions. These details consist in the insertion of what are called the *pañchāṅga* or the five elements viz. the constellation, the week day, the *tithi*, the fortnight and the month. Given these, it is possible to work out the particular day when they occurred combined. Very often we may find that on more than one day such combinations occurred. In such cases the calculator has very onerous duties. He should not be led away by the thought that because the details work out accurately to a particular day, that day must be the one intended. He must always take the guidance of the palaeographical indications of the record and its internal evidence to ascertain the correctness of his finding. To give currency to the results of calculations which are widely at variance with the internal evidence of documents is to give a wrong lead to occurrence of events. It must be said that a small mistake on the part of the writer of a document might result in its anti-dating or post-dating. Usually and necessarily some time elapses between the actual date of the grant and its engraving. This gives room to inaccurate citation of details. It is therefore highly necessary to give due weight to the intrinsic evidences of documents other than the details of dates.

I may here give an instance where the historian has been misled from the true course of events, by not having paid due attention to the evidence of writing. One such is found in the attempts at fixing the commencement of the Gāṅgēya Era. The initial year of this Era has been sought in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. Just imagine how wide of the mark the transactions of the kings of the dynasty would be, if they are based on such chronology, while actually the Era could not have started earlier than the end of the 5th century as indicated by the palaeography of many of the Eastern Gaṅga grants.

A close observation and study of the regnal years show that the kings of the various dynasties of South India counted the time of their rule from the date of their anointment as *yuvārāja* i.e. from the date of their nomination and not from the day of their actual coronation. Generally the *yauvarājya abhishēka* took place when the reigning king was getting old and the one that was to succeed him was sufficiently aged.

If a reigning king was young and hale and died suddenly, or if he was old and the one to be nominated was too young to be invested with the authority of a *yuvārāja*, the nomination did not take place. The regnal years of such kings as had succeeded to the throne without having had the *yauvarājya abhishēka* would be counted from the date of their actual coronation or from the date of demise of their predecessor. Though the regnal years given in inscriptions are, as a general rule, calculated from the date of nomination, we do meet with instances where some of the regnal years are counted from the coronation date and some others from the nomination date. On this score also, it becomes necessary to examine, wherever possible, whether the year is counted from the date of demise of the predecessor or from a prior date. Otherwise wide differences in the dating of events might result: and I mention this so that a possible source of error might be avoided. In the last few years of the Eastern Gaṅga Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga and the Rāshṭrakūṭa Amōghavarsha I, both of whom

had lived to a pretty long age, there are evidences that their sons were allowed to issue records in their own names even during the lifetime of their father.

There are numerous instances in inscriptions which tend to show that feudal subordinates dated their records in the reign of their overlords. From the mere omission of this observance alone it would be gratuitous to infer that a particular feudatory threw off his subordination and aimed at independence or rebelled against his chief, which he might never even have imagined. It will be advisable in all cases where a suspicion of this nature arises, to seek for other proofs in the direction, since it is not known what exactly were the terms that were binding. If, in a tract of country where grants are dated in the reign of a ruling dynasty of kings, suddenly stray inscriptions turn up which are dated in Śaka or other known eras and no mention is made of any king, and there is no suspicion about their genuineness, an enquiry needs be made for the breach of the custom. It may sometimes lead to the conclusion that the country was at the time in the state of transition from one government to another.

If in the course of handling documents, we meet with damaged or unintelligible records, it is unfair to attempt at pronouncing findings with the aid of intelligible phrases or words picked up here and there from them. And if the information furnished by us is to be of any real use for purposes of history, the utmost that can be safely hazarded is the honest narration of ascertained facts with such judicious pronouncement on them as may be necessary in the form in which the facts are arranged for presentation. All endeavour should be made to resist the temptation to draw inferences or to arrive at general conclusions from isolated or mutilated facts because conclusions formed without sufficient evidence seldom prove correct while the currency which they gain is detrimental to the cause of history. It is highly necessary therefore that we should endeavour to collect all the evidences both for and against, available on the subject, weigh them well and come to a

definite finding after discussing thoroughly the pros and cons of the question. Whenever further facts are brought to light, it must be our duty to see how they fit in with the ascertained facts. Inferences drawn with care and caution are sure to be confirmed by further investigations while the contrary will be the result with the presumptions made without sufficient data.

To exaggerate facts even when convinced of their true nature is harmful in the field of research. In the absence of sufficient materials, we must carefully avoid filling up gaps in information with conjectures and refrain from guessing at motives which must have prompted actions, as if the secrets of the past lay open before us.

One of the most onerous duties of the historian is to examine the nature and value of the facts contained in the document placed at his disposal. It needs not be said that for effectively carrying out this part of the task he must approach them with an unbiased mind. True estimate is possible only to the impartial, and scrupulous care is needed to detect mistakes of omission and commission. The historian has to group and classify the facts as being for and against, discuss their merits, test them with the help obtained from other sources and finally record his finding without exaggeration or embellishment. Passion and prejudice often obscure the vision : and need it be said that partiality would lightly pass over the real blemishes in the objects liked and prejudices would try to taint even the beautiful. It will not be wrong to say that history suffers more from those two vices than from want of scholarship or material. Continuous application and sincerity are the secrets of getting at the truth.

It will be admitted that there are always two sides to a question. In trying to successfully establish a point it will not do to take merely the arguments pertaining to it. It is highly necessary that all the arguments that could be possibly advanced against it, must be given due consideration. While upholding the correctness of the view adopted the possible grounds to the

contrary require to be discussed and their futility shown. When we form an opinion with a few facts that are before us, it must be clearly kept in view that explanations of the same facts are possible and until those are proved to be untenable our opinion cannot be said to rest on firm basis. That opinion which is hastily formed, expressed without due consideration of what might be said against it, has not much to warrant credence.

Though in all inquiries, intellectual competence, admitted truthfulness, immunity from prejudice, and freedom from temptation to shift facts, can secure credibility, yet all these cannot be guarantee for minute and circumstantial exactness. No two *prasaṣti* writers with equal gifts of expression and equal access to material, register events in exactly the same way. While they agree in the main, they invariably differ in details. It would appear that men are not capable of relating facts precisely as they see or hear. Different parts of a story appeal differently to different imaginations and the circumstances as they pass through the mind make the latter unconsciously alter the proportion and shift the perspective. Therefore when taking up for discussion the matter contained in an inscription, it is advisable that prominence is first given to the textual statements and whatever we may have to say is made to bear on them so that the full implications might be brought out. The inter-relations of the various parts have to be shown whenever they are not plain.

It is not always that the historian finds the grounds of the opposition clearly set forth. In most cases they have to be imagined or thought out and this is not an easy matter, when the mind is working in a particular groove. The building up of the case for the opposition is a difficult one and unless this is done and each strong point in it is carefully considered, assailed and disposed of, the decision arrived at does not carry much weight. From the writing of the *Bhāṣhyakāras*, we see that they can lay claim to a very high place for handling questions involving several issues. Marvellous is indeed the course of investigation which

they pursue in order to establish a truth. They tackle every point in detail, show the futility of those that are misleading, and with a thorough masterly grasp of arguments, establish a dictum. Though it may not be possible to reach the high water mark reached by them, yet it is indispensable that an honest endeavour should be made to realise the opponent's stand in as clear a light as possible, if it is our aim to present sound views, or if we wish to be not far from the truth. It may be that subtle and minute points escape us, but the main objections that could be put forward against a view can be comprehended. With this object in view, we have to study what other possibilities there are against the conclusions we propose to arrive at.

In the field of research, differences of opinion are said to exist and since it is difficult to foresee all that the other side may have in its favour, if we find persons who contest an opinion, they must be welcomed and heard with attention. They lessen our labour to a considerable degree by undertaking to postulate the grounds of the opposition. They afford us an opportunity to ascertain the certainty or otherwise of our convictions. Such conclusions, as are made in good faith and in the interest of truth, are characterised by a fine arrangement of facts and arguments and by being direct to the point. We need not take any notice of such other criticisms as are prompted by selfish motives to vindicate impossible positions taken up with insufficient data, or with an anxiety to be original and to gain notoriety. The basis of such criticism is the consciousness of weakness of one's stand and the fear of its certain fall: and its purpose is to impose upon the credulous and ignorant by specious leading, display of ingenuity, parody of reasoning and abuse of facts. If one's position is sound, it will commend itself without any flourish of trumpeting. The old adage is good wine needs no bush.

Adherence to strict rules of criticism cannot be too strongly insisted, in discussing controversial matter it is of the utmost importance that the view point of the adversary must be fully and

correctly stated, before any attempt is made to assail it. The exact view of the opponent is seldom expressed in another's words. It behoves us therefore, whenever we are not in agreement with another's view, to state the adversary's stand in his own words. The cause of research may be said to suffer seriously by misrepresentation and suppression of facts. Such misrepresentation may gain a hearing and even approval of persons that are ignorant of facts ; but time which tries the truth of everything, is sure to prove the baseness of the perpetration.

At a time when much was not known about the various dynasties of kings that held sway in India and their transactions, it was but just that our chief attention must be concentrated on kings and chronology. Now that the doings of kings of very many of the families have been roughly known, though fresh ones are being brought to light by new discoveries, and parts of chronologies still remain to be settled, and political history requires elucidation we may profitably pay attention to the problems about the pursuits of the people and the constitutional bodies that were functioning in past ages.

In late years there has been a growing interest evinced in the study of the part played by the rural administrative bodies of India in ancient times, which the subject justly demands and which has given us a few works, embodying the results of the attempts made by a band of scholars. In pursuing the study the authors had naturally to ransack the literature of the country and to examine the vast number of epigraphs unearthed. Sometimes a note of caution, which is as impracticable as unnecessary, is sounded against mixing up the evidences of the different sources or of applying the evidence relating to any particular time or part of a country to other times and to other parts of the same country. We can well appreciate such a warning if it is given to students engaged on the study of the institutions of such countries as have been in the making during historic times and as had not attained a high state of perfection at a very remote past,

or of such others whose entire institutions and civilisations had been overthrown and supplanted by conquests. In fact the warning may be said to be the outcome of the study of the constitutions that had been undergoing changes by stress of events—internal and external. It is hardly necessary in a country like India, where the laws governing the course of conduct of its rulers and of the institutions under them, had been firmly laid down in the Smritis with the injunction that no infringement of it should be made either by the king or his subjects. This is specially so with reference to the study of the Indian constitution of any period subsequent to the Smritis for no changes of them are countenanced by the laws of the land : and no dynasty of kings ever professed other creeds and other laws than are of an indigenous nature. This is particularly the case with South India. Surely there were waves of foreign invasions but it may be observed that they did not leave behind them any permanent change in the existing systems. In order that such a caution may have practical weight, it must be advanced after a careful study of the institutions century by century and after showing the changes for each century. Not only is this not the case, but an examination of the writings of those who sound the note of warnings shows that the warning is honoured more in the breach than in its observance.

To appraise the true nature and function of the constitutional bodies that are mentioned in early inscriptions, a correct knowledge of the Smritis is indispensable. But as the texts of the latter which refer to these bodies are clothed in a language which is not easy of grasp and the translations of them, however carefully made, are misleading, we have to approach the texts themselves and try to unravel their mystery by the aid of the inscriptions which belong to a time when the laws of the Smritis were in application. Inscriptions and Smritis are inter-related to each other and either of them might be reasonably expected to throw light on the other. On account of the misconceptions that are entertained about the origin and composition of some of the village assemblies

viz. (1) that the *Ūr* or *Crāma* was the earliest and a remnant of an ancient Dravidian institution having no set of rules (2) that *Sabhā* had a later origin,—some would even date it in the 9th, 10th centuries A. D.,—and its members were of mixed classes and the like.

I shall try to show how such views, besides being untenable, are injurious to the very cause of research. The attempt will also prove how invaluable inscriptions are for the understanding of the *Smṛiti* texts, which they closely follow. The first thing to note is the claim of numerous Indian kings, South Indians not excepted, to have followed the laws of *Dharma* as inculcated by *Manu*; and the next point to note is that the word *Dharma* has a very wide significance not necessarily limited to Justice or Law, but embraces every kind of transaction that contributes to benefit. Writers on *Dharmas'āstras* recognise two kinds of *dharmas* by which are meant laws, regulations and transactions. These are *Rājakṛita-dharma* or the regulations etc., made by kings, and *Sāmayika* and *Samaya-dharma* 'the regulations etc.,' made by regularly constituted bodies. Of such constituted bodies mention is made of *Kula*, *Grāma*, *Jāti*, *Śrēṇi*, *Janapada* and *Pūga*. These were of various degrees of importance and magnitude. The transactions made by them must be in conformity with the *Vedas*. *Kula* is defined as '*Jñāti-sambandhi bandhūnām samūhaḥ*' i.e. the assembly of persons related to each other by the father's or mother's side and by marriages—agnates, kinsmen and cognates. *Grāma* is the constituted assembly of the village. *Jāti* is defined by *Kulluka Bhaṭṭa* as *Brāhmaṇa-samūhaḥ*, the assembly of Brahmins. The persons, that followed trade as their profession, had two kinds of assemblies which were termed *Śrēṇi* and *Pūga*. Of these, *Śrēṇi* is also called *Sangha* and it is defined as *Vanigādī-samūhaḥ* i.e. a guild of merchants. A more explanatory definition of it is given in the *Mitākṣhara*: *Śrēṇayōnānājālīnām ēka-jātiya-karmōpajīvinām saṅghātāḥ yathā hēḍabukādīnām tāmbūlika-kuvinda-charma-kārādīnām cha*", meaning *Śrēṇis* are bodies of men of different castes having for their living i.e. following the

calling of one caste like that of horse-dealers, betel-leaf vendors, weavers and shoe-makers. In another place the same commentator has '*Ēkaṇya-s'īlpajivinaḥ Śrēṇayaḥ*'. *Pūga* is also termed *Gaṇa* (*Gaṇas'abdaḥ pūga paryāyaḥ*). *Pugas* are defined in the *Mitākshara* as '*Pūgāḥ samūhāḥ bhinna-jātinām bhinna-vṛttinām ēka-sihāna-nivāsinām yathā grāma-nagarādayaḥ*' meaning that *pūgas* are assemblies of men of different castes following different avocations but living in a single locality for example a village or city. From this definition it might be said that each of the different classes of merchants and traders had an organisation of its own and all of them were subject to a central constitution. *Janapada* is the assembly of a *Rāshṭra* or *Vishaya*, District or division. From the definitions given above it will be clear that *grāma*, *jāti*, *janapada* or *dēśa*, *saṅgha* or *s'rēṇi* etc., were really names of regularly constituted bodies functioning in ancient times and it is also evident by such references as *jāti-jānapadān dharmān*, *grāma-jāti-saṅghānām*, *grāma-jāti-samūhēshu*, *dēśa-jāti-kula-dharmān* occurring in Manu, Gautama and others. Tamil inscriptions use the term *ūr* for *grāma*, *sabhā* for *jāti*, *nāḍu* for *janapada*, *rāshṭra* or *dēśa* and *nagara*, *nagarattār*, *vaṇiga-nagarattār* or *sankarappāḍiyār* etc. for *Śrēṇi* or *Pūga*. The definitions cited above make it clear that the three constitutional bodies *kula*, *grāma* and *jāti*, of which the last two stand for *ūr* and *sabhā* were of a homogeneous nature, while the others *Śrēṇi*, *Pūga* and *janapada* which are the same as *nagara* and *nāḍu* or *Rāshṭra* were of a mixed character. Inscriptions of Southern India afford ample evidence to the fact that allotments of different or distinct quarters were made for the various classes and castes of men, artisans, persons following different professions and industries and that these had corporate bodies of their own which sometimes took up the management of, or assigned fees leviable on articles of trade as funds for charitable or religious purposes. The constitutional character of the bodies is testified to first by the fact that they undertook the management of permanent endowments and gave agreements to the effect that they would carry out the wish

of the donors for an indefinite period of time—*chandrādityavat*—which no private individual or chance collection of men acting without any set rules could furnish to the satisfaction of the donees; secondly by the body having members of their own; thirdly by the mention made of the existence of committees and accountants under them proving that books, open for inspection when needed, were regularly maintained by them.

Hundreds of inscriptions testify to the fact that these bodies,—*Ūr, Sabhā, Nagarattār*,—were functioning quite independently without the intervention of the State: the only thing required was, as we gather from the Smṛitis that their actions must be in consonance with the injunctions of the Vēdas and Śāstras *i. e.* the ancient law codes of the country. It is in keeping with this that the Dharma-śāstrās tell us that the king and his men should not interfere with or institute a case with reference to these bodies on their own initiative: and that when cases were brought they must enforce the laws etc. of the bodies provided they are regular, in as good a way as they would enforce the royal orders.

Yājña: Nija-dharm-āvirōdhēna yas-tu sāmāyikō bhavēt |
Sōsṇi yatnēna samrakṣhyat dharmō Māgakṛitaśo cha yat ||

Manu: Jāti-jānapadān dharmān Śrēṇi-dharmāmś cha
dharmavit |
Samīkshya-Kula-dharmāmś cha svadharmam
pratipādayēt ||

Sadbhirācharitam yat syāt dhārmikais cha dvijātibhiḥ |
Taddēśa-kula-jātīnām aviruddham prakalpayēt ||

Gautama: Dēśa-Jāti-Kula-Dharmās cha āmnāyair
aviruddhāḥ pramāṇam

Every kind of transaction made by the bodies—*Ūr, Sabhā, Nagara* whether it be a gift, exemption from payment of tax on receipt from the donee of a compounding fee, law, regulation etc., is called in inscriptions by the terms *kārya, samayakārya, saṅkēta, samaya-saṅkēta* and *vyavasthā*. These terms are applied to the

transactions performed by the bodies collectively and not by any single individual. The point for particular note here is that the terms *saṅkēta* and *samayakārya* and their synonyms have no reference whatsoever to the rules relating to the constituting of the bodies *i. e.* the form of understanding that must have existed among the members or to any agreed creed among them. We draw special attention to this as, in the absence of the specific application in inscriptions, they are likely to be so understood.¹

You can find numerous kinds of mistakes committed in the translations of texts of Dharmaśāstras, employing these technical terms. The members of the constitutional bodies are sometimes called Saṅkētins or Samayasāṅkētins. But generally they are called perumakkaḷ in Tamil, pramukhas or mahājanas in Sanskrit, Kannaḍa and Telugu inscriptions, with the name of the body prefixed to their honorifics such as ūr-perumakkaḷ, sabhai-pperumakkaḷ, Rāshṭrakūta-pramukhas or Nāṭṭu-pperumakkaḷ. Dharmaśāstras term them *mukhyas* (e.g. *Mukhyaṣṣaḥ saha samūhānām viśamvādō yadā bhavēt, tadā vichārayēt rājā svadharme śhāpayechcha tām*).

The law relating to the infringement of the regulations or transactions of the bodies is called Samvid-vyatikrama and it is shortly told in three verses by Manu,² from which it could be

¹ Bṛihaspati : Grāma-Śrēṇi-Gaṇanāṅcha Saṅkētāḥ Samayakriyā ।

² Bādhā-kāle tu sā kāryā Dharmakāryē tathaiva cha ॥

Chāṭa-chaṭra-bhayē bādhāḥ sarva-sādhāraṇā smṛitāḥ ।

Tatrōpaśamanam kāryam sarvēṇaikēna kēna chit ॥

Yōgrāma-dēśa-saṅghānām kṛitvā satyēna samvidam

Viśamvadēt narō lobhāt tām rāshṭrāt viprāvasayēt 219

Nigṛihya dāpayech-chainam Samaya-vyabhichāriṇām

Chatus-suvarṇān shan-bishkams-chaṭamanan-cha rājatām 220

Ētad-dandavidhim kuryād-dhārmikaḥ prithivipatīḥ

Grāma-jāti-samūhēṣhu samayavyabhichāriṇām 221

gathered that the king's court is the appellate authority in such cases. Manu makes a distinction between a royal court presided over by the king himself and the one presided over by his nominee when he could not himself be present. The latter is called the *Dharmāsana*. This implied but apparent distinction is made more explicit by Nārada who states that there is an appeal to the king against the decision of the other (‘*nṛpādhikṛitaiḥ nirṇītē api vyavahārē nṛpāgamanam bhavati*’). Inscriptions also maintain this distinction and mention the former as *anrālko* ‘the then reigning king’ and the latter by the very term *dharmāsana*. Though the king is empowered, in cases of *samvid-vyati-krama*, to inflict punishment on the guilty, he has to enforce only the laws of the bodies if they are found to be in accordance with the established laws of the country.

In handling inscriptions, one has frequently to press into service the science of etymology and philology. This is often beset with difficulties: and if he is not careful, he will be led astray. The ancients well recognised the delicate nature of the science and the harm it was capable of doing to the cause of truth. The author of the Nirukta fitly employed the following passage to impress on the minds of the votaries of the science how dangerous it will prove in the hands of the unscrupulous:—

Vidyā ha vai Brāhmaṇaṁ ājagāma gōpāya mā śēvadhishṭe
aham asmi ।

Asūyakāy anṛijavē ayatāya na mā brūyā vīryavati tathā syām ।

Ya ātṛṇatty-avitathēna karṇa avaduham kurvann-amṛitaṁ
samprayachchhan ।

Tam manyēta pitaram mātaram cha tasmai na druhyēt
katamachchanāha ।

Adhyāpitā yē gurum nādriyantē viprā vāchā manasā
karmanā vā ।

Yathaiva tēna gurōrbhōjanīyās tathaiva tānnabhunakti
śrutam tat ।

Yamēva vidyāḥ śuchiṁ apramattam mēdhāvinam
 brahmacharyōpapannam ।
 Yastēna druhyēt katamachchanāha tasma mā brūya nidhipāya
 Brahmann iti nidhiḥ sēvadhiriti ।
 (Nr. 11.4)

“ The treasure of Vidyā approached a Brāhmaṇa and said :—

“ Please protect me and bestow me not on the envious or the untruthful or on one that is wanting in industry. Pray consider as father and mother him who, without being vain, opens his ears to others, causes no injury and is capable of conferring immortality; to such a one prove not treacherous to any extent. (Those Vipras who after being taught, do not honour the preceptor by word, mind and action, should not be entertained; should just do unto them what they had done to their preceptors.)” “ Lastly,” said the treasure of Vidyā, “ bestow me on such a protector of wealth as is pure in conduct, as swerves not from the right path, as is intelligent and leads a life of celibacy”.

The remarks of Yāska on the use of the science are well worth remembering. Yāska takes his stand on the fundamental principle that there could exist no word without having a meaning. And words are but feeble attempts at conveying one's impressions. To translate an impression, which is a vivid picture formed in the mind with fullness of detail, no single word or sound-combination could effectively do it. Words try to convey their significance by creating a reflection of the impressions: and the power of reflection, it is needless to say, is different in different minds. It varies with one's learning, observation, capacity to focus together the train of thoughts which supplement and complement the nucleus of the first impression produced by the word. To most people a word conveys no more than a few parts of the objects with which they are familiar and certainly that is not all that the word intends to transmit. It cannot be said that all know in an equal degree every part of even the most familiar object. The story of the blind man and the elephant may perhaps better illustrate what I aim at saying. Conscious of the fact that

words are by their syllabic arrangements, capable of conveying impressions of objects, Yāska lays down the rules which must guide an etymologist in determining or explaining the impression meant to be conveyed. His first principle is that attempts at offering etymological explanations of words must only be made by taking compounds, phrases or sentences where they occur and not of single or isolated words (*samāsān-nirbrūyāt naikapādāni*). Underlying this principle, one can see that he fully recognises the fact that a word, as it occurs in a phrase or compound, fulfills a double object viz. of its having an impression of its own and of bearing a relation to the impressions conveyed by other words with which it is associated. For ascertaining conclusively the import of a word it may not do to have only a single phrase or sentence in which it is found: very often the syllables of a word are capable of conveying more than one meaning. As such one of the qualifications of a true etymologist is a wide range of study which would enable him to bring together a number of passages where a given word figures. This is exactly what Yāska does in his Nirukta with regard to some words. Secondly Yāska expects an etymologist to have a knowledge of grammar for he says that this science should not be imparted to one that is not conversant with grammar (*na avaiyākaraṇāya*). Unlike English and such other languages, which use separate words for indicating various cases of nouns, tenses of verbs etc., the primary stems of words in the Ārsha, as indeed with all inflectional languages such as Latin, Greek, Tamil etc., undergo vital changes by the addition of terminations, prefixes and particles, besides other internal alterations, so as to make the words assume in some cases entirely new garbs, easily to be mistaken for words of different origin. Even though one is well grounded in grammar, a student of etymology requires, according to Yāska, the personal direction of a master and has therefore to undergo training in the mysteries in this field of research and inquiry, by being a disciple. Mere formulation of rules for guidance was not

considered enough owing to the many pitfalls that are likely to occur. This is what one might gather when he says *na anupāsannāya*. Ignorance breeds envy and calumny and this science is not for the ignorant. On the other hand, it has to be taught to the intelligent, industrious, and such as value knowledge (Nr. 11-3)

Nityam hi avijñātuḥ vijnane asūyā

Upasannāya tu nirbrūyāt yo vālam vijñātum syāt medhāvine
tapasvine vā

The drawing of correct inferences and conclusions is not easy. Just to give you an example, I may take the view about the state of Vedic exegesis in past ages. Not a few are inclined to think that it was totally disregarded from the earliest times. That the holders of this view are to no small extent influenced by the surrounding circumstances goes without saying. The conclusions, arrived at in this respect are from certain passages in the Nirukta and the scant treatment of Vedic grammar in Pāṇini. The former is not decisive either way and as for the latter, it may be said that it cannot but be as it is. Epigraphical evidence clearly shows that all through the period covered by the inscriptions, the study of the Vedas with meaning was pursued zealously.

Belonging to the century preceding the advent of Sāyaṇa there are numerous copper plates and lithic records which register *brahmadēya* grants of lands and villages made not only to individuals but also to collections of men. The collection in one case amounted to as many as thousand and eighty persons. These men are expressly stated to have been well versed in the Vedas and Śāstras, studied them with meaning and were capable of expounding them. The words used are *Vēdamum—Sāstramum poruṭpaḍappoy vyākṛyātakkāṭay irukhum*. Number of other inscriptions belonging to earlier period also testify to the fact that there were men who had studied the Vedas with meaning and were skilled in the allied lore. Among the qualifications laid down in

the Uttaramallur inscriptions for membership in the committees of the village assemblies which had for their object *dushtar ketṭu sishtar vaddhittiḍuvadāga*, whose full significance had not still been brought out, there occur the following. (i) *Mantra-brāhmanam vallaṇ oduvittarivaṇ* and (ii) *araikkal nilamey udaiyanayilum oru Vetam vallaṇay nalu bashyattilum oru bashyam vakkaniṭṭu arivaṇai*.

The first clause means "one who had marked the *Mantra—Brāhmaṇa* had taught it and knew it" i.e. its meaning): It cannot be said that 'know it' stands for 'committed to memory' for the latter sense is already arranged by the word 'vallaṇay'.

The words used here leave no doubt that the members eligible to be committee members ought to have known the meanings of Vēdas, Mantras and ought to have been teaching them. We need not go into a discussion about this. The second clause relaxes the property limit in the case of persons who knew one of the four bashyas and had been expounding the same. From these clauses and from the fact that the members chosen for a particular year should not have served on the committees within the three years just preceding the year of election, aimed at living scope for all and of raising the standard of Vedic scholarship of the people of the village in general. One of the objects of the edict viz 'that the sishtas may increase in number' is certainly better secured by the more explicit clauses in the second edict which replace the general clause regarding educational qualification of the first inscription, and by the clauses relating to the conduct etc. of the said persons: *arihas'auca*, *ātmas'auca* and *kārya-naipunya*. Though there had been no occasion for putting up such edicts concerning other villages, where such committees had been functioning, we could well imagine that the same or similar rules obtained there also. Having the specific qualifications before us, it can be asserted that by *sishtas* are meant such persons as possessed the qualifications laid down in the *Dharmasāstras* viz.

Dharmenādhigato yaistu Vēdaḥ saṇaribrahmaṇaḥ ।

Tē sishtā brāhmaṇ ājñeyāḥ śruti pratyaksha hētavḥ ॥

Kulluka-Bhatta gives the following gloss on it.

Brahmacharyādi ukta dharmēṇa yaiḥ anga—Mīmāṃsā—
Dharma-śāstra—Purāṇādi Upaḥṛimbitō
Vēdō adhigataḥ Tē brāhmaṇāḥ Śrutēḥ Pratyakṣhikaraṇē
hētavaḥ,
Yē Śrutim paṭhitvā tad artham upadiśanti te śiṣṭā vijñēyāḥ.
(Manu XII. v. 109).

In earlier times Vedic exegesis must have fared even better.

It commenced in a remote past when the Ṛishis of old, who had direct perception of the dharma, expounded the *mantras* to their disciples who had not such a perception. This is plain from the following passage of the *Nirukta*.

Sākshāt-kṛita-dharmāṇaḥ Ṛishayō babhūvuḥ | te (=5)
varēbhyō (=5) sākshāt kṛita dharmabhyah upadēśēna mantrān
samprādūḥ | upadēśāya glāyanto [5] varē bilma grahaṇāyēmam
grantham samāmnāsishuḥ Vēdaṁ cha Vēdāṅgāni cha |
Nirukta ; Canto I ; ll. 27-29.

In these ages, persons that studied the Vēdas without knowing their meaning were held in great contempt. Indeed strong language was employed to denounce such as took to the method of cramming the hymns without knowing their sense.

Sthāṇurayam bhāra-hāraḥ kilābhūdadhitya Vēdaṁ na
vijānāti yōsrtham ; yōsrthajña it sakalāṁ bhadrasmnutē
nākamēti jñāna-vidhūta-pāpmā ; yad-grīhītamavijñātām
nigadēna ēva śabdyatē anagnāv-iva śushkaidhō na taj-jvalati
karhichit ;

Utatvaḥ paśyan na dadarśa vāchamutatvaḥ śṛiṇvan na
śṛiṇōty-ēnām utōtvasmai tanvaṁ visasrē jāy-ēva patya usāti
suvāsāḥ ; | utatvaṁ sakhyē sthira-pītamāhurnainaṁ hinvantya
vājīnēshu ; | adhēnvā charati māyayaisha vāchaṁ śūsruvāma
a-phalāma-pushpām. || Nr. I. 11-20.

The emphasis laid in the above quotation on knowing the meaning of the Vēdas and the contempt hurled against persons

studying only the Vedic texts without caring for the sense implied therein, coupled with the fact that the Rīṣhis themselves initiated their disciples in the import of the mantras, affords room to think that the majority of students should have known the full significance of hymns they learnt to recite. That the Rīṣhis had their *āśramas* and *samhatis* which nestled in their fold large number of disciples is vouchsafed in numerous references. It may be said that the Samhatis formed our universities of outstanding merit and must have been resorted to by the students of the surrounding parts to devote the first part of their life; and this must account for their numerical strength. Besides, the parting injunction of the *āchārya* to the disciple at the time of the latter's completion of study, contained in the telling passage "Vēdamanūchyāchāryāntēvāsināmanuśāsti" ending with "ēvamupāsitavyam" insisting among other things the continuance of the study and exposition of the Vedas all through one's life goes to show that Vedic exegesis could not have been neglected in ancient days. The second stage in the matter of Vedic exegesis is portrayed in the following passage occurring in the Nirukta :—

"Ayaṁ mantr-ārtha-chintā abhyūhō abhyūḍhō Śrutitō'pi tarkatō; na tu prathaktvēna mantrā nirvaktavyāḥ prakārēṇa stēn ēva tu nirvaktavyā na hi ēsha pratyaksham asti an-Rīṣh-er-a-tapasō vā; pārōvaryavitsu tu khalu vēditrīshu bhūyō vidyāh praśasyō bhavati ity-uktam purastāt. Manushyā vā Rīshishu utkrāṁatsu dēvān abruvan "Kō na Rīshir-bhavishyati-iti tēbhya ēvaṁ tarkam Rīshīm prayachchhan, mantr-ārtha-chintā abhyūham adhyūḍham. tasmādyad-ēva kimch anūchānō abhyū-hatyārsham tad bhavati.

In this age the sense of hymns was ascertained by way of right conjecture or inference following a course of reasoning consistent with Śrutis by persons who had undergone a period of monastic life and who were well posted in traditions. The words used here for the Vedic expounder and the method of the exegesis

are worth nothing. By *anūchana*, we learn that the exegetes was an *antēvāsin* that had gone through a regular course of discipline and read for a number of years the *Vēdas* with their *aṅgas* under the guidance of an *āchārya*; and having completed the studies had been permitted to enter the *grihasthāśrama*: (*Sāṅgē* “*Śikshādy-āṅgōpētē Vēdē adhitē* kṛit-ādhyayanō anūchānāsākshād-yō grihasthādy-āśramāntara-prāptayē labdhānu-jnāṇaḥ sa samāvrita syāt”: (Amara). The word *tarka* refers to the science of logical reasoning in accordance with the orthodox method, *mīmāṃsā-nyāya* as it is termed. What is contained in the *nirukta* passage quoted above is put in the following two verses by Manu¹ :—

Ārshaṁ dharmōpadēśam cha Vēda-Śāstr-āvirōdhinā-yas-
tarkēṇ-anusandhattē sa dharmāṁ vēda nētarah |
Dharmēṇ-ādhitatō yaistu Vēdaḥ sa-pari-brīhmitaḥ tē sishtā
Brāhmaṇāḥ jñēyāḥ Śṛuti-pratyaksha-hētavaḥ.

Now to the minor sources of information. Every nation has a store-house of legends, miracles, fables and traditions which when examined carefully disclose points of striking similarity. Legends and traditions have as their basis nuclei of facts, though in their details they are completely untrustworthy for purposes of history. A careful examination of them is necessary to find out the central fact on which the legends are developed, for facts however trifling they may be, do not deserve to be discarded. The South is specially rich in miracles said to have been wrought by many a great man who appeared on the scene of life in different ages and left behind him the undying monumental labours of his life. Such are the actions attributed to the 63 Śaiva devotees, the 12 Alvars and the bhaktas who followed in their wake. When we proceed to examine the incidents connected with the lives of these great personages we find that some parts of them are highly romantic, some are fabulous and the rest a tissue of miracles. On this score they cannot be rejected without any

1 Kullūka-Bhatta's comment on V. 106 of Ch. XII. and Ch. XII. Vv. 106-109. *Ibid.*

enquiry into them. On careful examination one may find that some of them are based on facts as well authenticated as facts of such a kind can be. We can easily persuade ourselves to believe that the miracles attributed to great men have not been actually wrought by them but what successive generations of admirers of their wonderful achievements gradually invested and credited them with fulfilment. In all probability there were floating miracles which the mind of the admirer loved to attribute to particular saints. This, if accepted, would satisfactorily account for the same miracle being associated with more than one person. Attribution of miraculous deeds to persons are gradually done not during their life-time but some generations after they had passed away.

It is thus helpful in a way to show that some time must have elapsed between the lifetime of the persons and the first mention of them with miraculous attributes. King Kochchengannan is mentioned in the hymns of Jnānasasbandha as having been a spider in his previous life. This might be taken to show that the Chōla king lived some time prior to the sage poet. Miracles themselves have no place in history and are to be rejected without hesitation. Our experience of nature and human capacity is such that we have to view these wonderful stories as being beyond the pale of belief improbable as they are of occurrence. We may quote the words of one of 19th century historians Mr. J. A. Froude who says "Science has less respect for the undoubting and submissive willingness to believe. The element of miracle which has evaporated from the entire surface of history will not maintain itself but will melt like a snow ball." Who among us will believe or take for facts of history that a person was capable of bringing a dead girl to life, made a crocodile to vomit forth the child which it had devoured years ago, or changed a pack of jackals into horses. Though all of us would have discredited without the slightest hesitation the truth of these if they were associated with any foreign nation, yet it is not too much to say that our minds do attach so much importance to these wonderful

achievements, believed to have been performed by some of our great men that we are almost inclined to hold that these miracles are not entirely false. It therefore requires some training and even effort on our part to guard ourselves against erring in this direction. It is easy to be a judge in a case and give correct verdict too when we are not interested in the parties, concerned or the parts played by them.

In the writing of history, especially when it is in the making, it is necessary to cite authority for every bit of what we write. This is the reason why we find the writings of scholars flooded with footnotes. It must be remembered that in failing to do this we commit a grave offence.

A word may now be said about literary evidences. Facts gleaned from literature cannot be regarded as direct evidence, especially when they are taken from poetical works, because they are by their very nature highly coloured by the imagination of the poets. But there are works which though of poetic nature are only so in their form. In the mode of treatment, it appears that this class of works could be relied upon for purposes of history. They seem to contain trustworthy accounts of early kings although they do not throw light as regards the time when they lived or how long they reigned. The student is therefore confronted with difficulties when he attempts to arrange the kings mentioned in them in a chronological sequence. But here we see that the intention of the author is not to display either emotion or the subtlety of their imaginations, but merely to record events and facts as he had occasion to see personally or to hear from authentic sources. One special feature about them is that they are completely void of all poetical embellishments which we find in the later day compositions. (Purananuru, Pattuppattu and the like come under this category). On a perusal of these works, which by the way may be said to be the productions of contemporary bards, will convince any reader that they contain true account of kings & of their times and are as valuable as the sketches of the Greek ambassador Megasthenes and

the Chinese pilgrims Fa Hien and Hieun Tsiang etc. They give us a true picture of the country, the life of the people and their cultural attainments. Some of their faithful descriptions can be verified even at the present day in spite of the changes that have come over the land. Since these are the only sources wherefrom we get a glimpse of the remote past, it is necessary that a proper study of them should be made.

Under the second category must be included such works as Silappadigaram, Manimegalai, Jivakachintāmaṇi, Periyapurēṇam, Tiruvilaiyadalpurāṇam and the like where the authors introduce historical characters here and there and spin out a romantic account mixing up fiction and facts. Large additions are made to excite wonder and interest and miracles are freely introduced. In using the materials supplied in such works for purposes of history one has to be extremely cautious. These materials have to be subjected to severe scrutiny and only such parts of them as are capable of verification from other sources can be considered true. It may be said that the authors of these works cannot be regarded as contemporaries of the historical personages found in these works.

The third class of works introduce fictitious persons and contain accounts of events which never took place. These do not concern us.

Some dark spots in the History of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

The subject of these lectures viz. some dark spots in the history of the Rāshtrakūṭas is one that I had noted down for study some time ago when I perused the *praśasti* in the Rāmēśvara inscription of Kṛishṇa III at Proddaṭūru in the Anantapur District. On going through the Rāshtrakūṭa accounts afresh in that connection, it appeared to me that the following questions required elucidation :— (1) Whether the family of the Rāshtrakūṭas was indigenous to South India or not, (2) Who the earlier members of it were, where they held sway, and whether they had anything to do with the Western Chālukyas, politically or otherwise, before the time of Dantidurga, (3) Dantidurga's end and the puzzle about Kṛishṇa I's succession as well as the mystery surrounding Rāhappa, (4) What became of the W. Chālukyas after they were overthrown by Dantidurga and Kṛishṇa, and before they again rose into power, (5) The riddle about the lascivious Gōvinda II and his *dhārmic* brother Dhruva, (6) The policy followed by the Rāshtrakūṭas towards the subjugated powers of the Eastern Chālukyas, Western Gaṅgas and Pallavas, (7) The state of the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom in the days of the boy emperor Amōghavarsha, his son, and his weak successors, (8) The occasion for the rise of Kṛishṇa III and what contributed to the success of his policy, (9) What the causes of the downfall of the Rāshtrakūṭas were and the occasion for the rise of the W. Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, and (10) the question regarding the claim of these W. Chālukyas to belong to the Bādāmi line. When the Director of Kannada Research asked me to take some subject connected with Kannaḍa literature or history, I was glad that I had an opportunity of presenting my views under the aus-

pices of an institution engaged in research work. But in the writing of this sketch, owing to the want of a good library in my place, I had mainly to depend upon a few reference books that I could command and my own notes taken from time to time. Thanking you for giving me this opportunity to address you, I proceed with the subject.

One cannot commence to say anything on the Rāshṭrakūṭas without a meed of praise to the early writers on the history of that family. They have earned our gratitude for the honest contributions they have made. It will certainly take a long time to replace them as a source book of reference for correct information contained in the inscriptions treating of the families dealt with. Even from the limited information that was available at the time, these early writers did not fail to make an attempt to trace the origin of the family and to fish out its earlier members. The amount of labour they had brought to bear on the task of collecting the materials and handling them, the cogency of their reasoning and the care they had taken in judging impartially on the available evidences, are lessons to future workers. In spite of all the care that had been bestowed and that could be bestowed, mistakes are liable to be found, which in the case of these writers, one is bound to say, are due, more or less to the dearth of needed information at the time on some particular points. They may require to be altered in the light of fresh materials. Want of care was not much their fault: rather one might complain of their having been overcareful in some respects. The palaeography of inscriptions had been subjected to very severe examination, and a small difference here or there, say of a letter or two, which may be due to more causes than one, or the irregular citation of some details of date, which feature is also to be noticed in numerous records that are palaeographically sound, have led to the condemnation, sometimes of all the parts of the documents, and they have been stamped 'spurious'. It being known that a particular king lived up to a certain year, the genuineness of the records of

a son or other relation, dated in years prior to the demise of the other, had been seriously questioned and suspected.

For such disposal of early inscriptions, one has only to look at the numerous Kannaḍa records of the Western Gaṅgas. The effect of this had sometimes been to delay the recognition of some of the historical facts. Even supposing the records are really spurious or forged, one has to see in what respects they are unworthy of credence. There is nothing to be gained by the forger in mis-stating historical events. It looks to us that the parts that would be really untrustworthy and that would require to be very carefully scrutinised in such records are the grant portions. At least to make the reader believe that the document which the forger was manufacturing in secret was genuine, he is sure to state facts of history correctly. Genuine records of Western Gaṅgas or Rāshtrakūṭas discovered in later years show that they contain the same historical information as are found in what had been termed 'spurious records'. As such we cannot entirely ignore, neglect or consign to oblivion, the documents which are found to be defective in regard to the dates they cite or in other respects, such as palaeography etc. It behoves us, therefore, to separate from among documents, the really forged ones, those that are only defective in parts, such others that may appear to be copies made in later years with errors in dates and other particulars, and to adopt the historical information about which no reasonable doubt could be adduced.

In ancient days, when dilapidated temples had to be renovated, it was customary to take down copies of the inscriptions engraved on the walls or on stone slabs that were weather-beaten and to re-engrave them on the walls of the new temple. Sometimes only a gist of inscriptions was given, while in other cases the entire inscription had been reproduced. In all cases, the temple treasury had a file of the original of the grants whose copies were incised on temple walls and stone slabs. In the taking down of copies and re-engraving them, careless scribes have committed many mistakes and these are in ample evidence.

Persons who have had experience in examining manuscripts of old works in any language will not only bear out the above view, but will be able to speak about the idiosyncrasies of copyists which are sometimes very unintelligible. In the case of copies of inscriptions re-engraved, sometimes we are fortunate enough to get at the record stating that the whole set of inscriptions are copied over, and the time and occasion for copying and re-engraving. But more often this is not the case. That we have not chanced to get at the remark that particular inscriptions are copies, should not deter us from bestowing the same attention as we would if they are clearly stated to be such. Let it be remembered that even such inscriptions as are considered originals,—whether on stone, copper or other materials,—are truly copies of documents which must have been preserved elsewhere. The originals are irrecoverably lost, and we are to-day dealing only with copies, some of them are first copies, some are certified copies of the first, and others whose certification has not been traced. It is curious that a very huge number of inscriptions found in a particular part of the country should be spurious or forged; this must no doubt reflect on the people and stamp them as notorious forgers and false-document makers. What could be fittingly said with regard to these documents, the historical information contained in which agree with that furnished in the genuine grants, is that they are copies made at some early period by scribes who could not correctly decipher the originals. What the circumstances were that gave rise to the making of copies, it cannot now be definitely divined.

The history of the Rāshtrakūṭa line has suffered to some extent by the view taken of a few of the facts represented in *prasaṣtis*,—which *śaṣtis*, we think, are clearly intended to extol the excellence of the members of the family and not to bring ill fame to them, —and secondly by consequent inferences based on these views. By the adoption of these views, the *prasaṣtis* convey the very opposite of the subject intended by the writers. As a result, misrule, ill-feeling, internal dissensions and

frequent wars of succession have come to be attributed to the kings of this line, and some of the fine figures that played their noble parts in the stage of South Indian History for over two centuries from the middle of the eighth are made to appear in utter dark colours quite unfitting them. There is no doubt that the *pras'asti* writers have to share a portion of the blame in as much as they failed to foresee how their selection of, and adoption in, their own *praśastis* of verses from earlier writers on individual members of the family, would lead to the conceptions that had now been formed; but more rests on our understanding and interpretation of the records.

It is believed that 'the historical information preserved in the records which approximate more closely to a king's time of rule is more probably correct than that contained in others that are a little more removed'.¹ The presumption here is that *praśastis*, evidently purporting to be of later dates, are written for the first time by the writers from the accounts, traditionally handed down or remembered and not necessarily based on more reliable and contemporary accounts written from time to time and preserved in the family archives. If we could be assured of the truth or certainty regarding this presumption, there would be nothing to question the view. But the facts appear to point to the existence of records relating to the doings of each one of the kings, and they seem to have formed the prime source of the *praśasti* writers of later times to base their accounts of past kings. Besides, it could also be said that the *praśasti* writers got the information which they presented, from accounts found in earlier charters of the family that were available to them. The latter is rather unlikely. The fact that a few of the verses describing the historical events of some of the kings of the Rāshtrakūṭa line occur in identical terms in the *praśastis* of different dates, affords conclusive proof to the effect that the writers did not compose them but incorporated them from extant accounts. In adopting these verses the framers of the *praśastis* should no doubt have

1 Dr. Fleet's Kanarese dynasties, p 391.

chosen such as had struck them to be of importance or such as had proved to be events of outstanding merit, and left out others which they did not think to be of much value. In thus cutting off the verses from regular narratives and piecing them together to form a brief outline of the past achievements of the family, and prefacing them, along with others of their own composition, to the grants made in their own time, the readers are sometimes handicapped to trace the thread of the story owing to the missing links which are indispensable for the easy understanding of the history of the dynasty. There could be no two opinions that the composers of the *pras'astis* would have deliberately eschewed such facts whose incorporation would have detracted the glory of the past members of the family. The eschewed passages have greatly distorted the real history of the family. We shall endeavour to show this in pursuing the events of the reigns of kings commencing with Dantidurga. With this preamble, I shall follow in this lecture the contents of the Proddaṭūru inscription whose text, is given in No. 68 of S. I. I. Vol. IX. Part, I. edited by Messers N. L. Rao and R. Shāmā Sastry : this inscription and a few others are particularly valuable for the light they shed on many a dark spot in the history of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

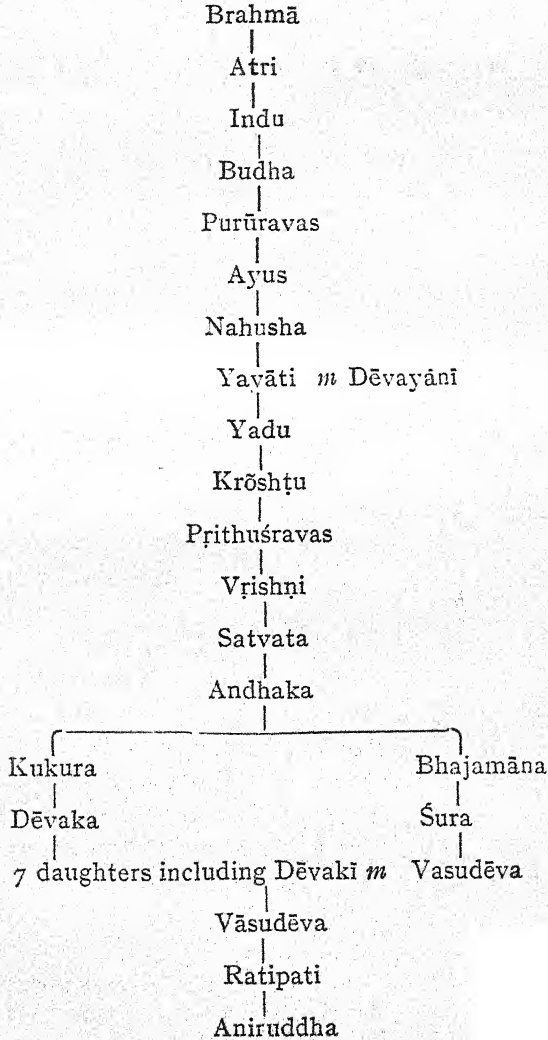
The mythical genealogy of the family is the first. Verse 2 of the Proddaṭūru record reads :—

Asti Brahmā tat-Ōtrir-Atrēr-anu-nayanataś-ch-Ēndur-Indōr
Budh-ōbhūj-jātas-Sōmānvayānām prathama-narapatis-tasya
dīrghhāyur-asmat.

Jātō—sau bhūmip-ēndrō Yadur—iti Kukurō Vṛishṇir—asy—
āpi jātas—śrī—Vāsudēvas—tad-anu Ratipati—tat-sutas— ch —
Āniruddhaḥ !!

“ There was Brahmā ; from him Atri ; from his eyes the Moon (Indu) : from him Budha : from him Āyus, who was the first of the kings of the lunar line : from him Yadu : from him Kukurō Vṛishṇi : from him Vāsudēva ; then came Ratipati : his son was Aniruddha. Thus, in the family of the Yadus, there were many powerful kings.” We may note here that other inscriptions

say that the Rāshtrakūṭas belong to the Sātyaki branch of the family of Yadu of the Lunar race. Though for purposes of Rāshtrakūṭa history this account is not of much use, the pedigree of the mythical kings may be noted. They are available in the Purāṇas



Between Budha and Āyus, Purāṇas insert Purūravas; and between Āyus and Yadu are given Nahusha and Yayāti. Vṛishṇi came in the line of Krōshṭu, the son of Yadu; and his lineal descendent was Satvata whose grandsons were Kukura and Bhajamāna. The ninth in descent from Kukura were the 7 daughters of Dēvaka who were married to Vasudēva, the 9th in descent from Bhajamāna. Their son was Vāsudēva.

The name Rāshṭrakūṭa is explained in the Proddaṭūru inscription thus:—

“Tasmin kulē sakala-vāridhi-chāru-vichē Kāñchi-bhṛitau mahita-bhūmi-mahāmahishyaḥ Bhartt-ābhavan-ṇṛipa-sahasraka-mauli-mānyaṁ Śrī-Rāshṭrakūṭa iti nāma nijan-dadānaḥ (v. 4).”

The Deōli¹ and the Karhad² plates seem to suggest that the family was originally called ‘Tuṅga’; in that family there was Raṭṭa and the kings that came after him were said to be of the Rāshṭrakūṭa-vaṁśa so called after Raṭṭa’s son. The Proddaṭūru inscription also employs ‘*tuṅgānvaya*’ in describing Gōvinda III in verse 9 which is but partially preserved.

The origin of the family is wrapt in mystery. We have no means of knowing it with certainty. With regard to some of the families that held sway in southern India, we have indications that their early ancestors belonged to royal houses and came from different places and settled down in the South. The account about the Western Chālukyas for instance contained in the following statement viz. “When commencing with him, 59 emperors, whose succession was uninterrupted, and who sat on the throne of Ayōdhyā had passed away, a king of this race, Vijayāditya by name, went to the Dekhan (*Dakṣiṇāpātha*), in order to conquer (it), and having overthrown Trilōchana-Pallava, through ill-luck went to another world”, and then it speaks about the birth of Viṣṇuvardhana etc. This shows that the ancestors of the Chālukyas were ruling over Ayōdhyā. The Gangas appear to be

1 Ep. Ind. Vol. V. p. 188 ff.

2 Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 286 ff.

foreigners to South India. They appear to have come from Magadha; and may be the descendents of the last king of the Kanva dynasty, who was dispossessed of his kingdom by his Āndhrabhṛitya subordinate. The tradition about Chandragupta spending his last days in the Dekhan with Bhadrabāhu, his preceptor, leads us to believe that the territory, which was afterwards occupied and settled by the lineal descendents of the Kānvāyanas, was already known to the kings of the Magadha country, and they might even have had a small colony there. From time immemorial, the extreme south of the Indian peninsula was shared by the Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya sovereigns: and the part of the country where the earliest members of the Kānvāyana, immigrants made a new home, seems to have belonged to the Chēras. This may be gathered from the fact that in some of the Western Chālukya grants the Gaṅgas are stated to be of the Chēra country. At least it is certain that there was a branch of the Gaṅga family, settled down in a part of the Chēra country. In this connection it is also worth noticing that the early members of the Western Gaṅgas viz. Mādhava I. Ayya (Hari or Ārya)-varman and Mādhava II, whose genuine grants have now come to light, show that they are connected with Paruvipura and that the later members claim Talakkāḍ as their capital. A branch of the Gaṅgas settled down in the Kālīṅga country with their capital at Kālīṅganagara and had an era of their own, which viewed from various points, takes us to circa A. D. 496. The starting of the era points to some unequalled success which the early members must have obtained over the kings of the surrounding land. The later Eastern Gaṅga grants, indeed, trace the origin of that family from the Western Gaṅgas just as the Eastern Chālukyas do from the Western Chālukyas. Similarly, the epigraphical evidence we have of the Pallavas shows that their earliest members were connected with the city of Kāñchī, while those that issued their grants from Palakkada and other places traced their relationship from the former. These indicate that at some remote period, several

families of rulers had to leave their homes in northern India and come away very far south, and mustering some strength, occupied a portion further north to contend successfully with their enemies, if possible. While the career of the Western Gaṅgas and Western Chālukyas that founded kingdoms in the South was cut short in a few centuries, the branch lines *i.e.* the Eastern Gaṅgas and the Eastern Chālukyas had a longer life. But as regards the lofty family (*Tuṅgānvaya*) of the Rāshtrakūṭas the members of which claim to have showered gold, happiness, and wealth in plenty, always and out of season, on their subjects, the origin is wrapt in mystery.

As regards the name of the earliest member, let known to us by the *prāśasti* writers viz. Raṭṭa, one may suspect if it is the name of a real person that ever was, or is only an eponym like Chōḷa, Pallava etc. But as recording the belief in those early days regarding the existence of a personality it is worth noting. Then there comes the question which is the original, Raṭṭa or Rāshtrakūṭa. Before Amoghavarsha I, the term Raṭṭa is not found used. As such, is this a late appellation, and if so, what was the name by which the members of the family were called in the first instance? Of the terms Raṭṭa and Rāshtrakūṭa, which is the original and which the derived one?

There is no doubt that in the early inscriptions, the term Rāshṭra is used to denote a district or subdivision, and the members composing the body representing the territorial division were called Rāshtrakūṭa-pramukhas [in Tamil Nāṭṭār or Nāṭṭupperumakkaḷ], and these were in direct charge of the administration. Besides this representative body, there were also district or divisional officials appointed by the State who must have been styled Rāshṭrapatis or Rāshṭrakūṭas. These officials were honoured with fiefdoms not only of one division but were allowed to exercise absolute powers over more than one. In early ages paramount sovereigns entrusted the rule of provinces, districts and divisions,—*maṇḍala*, *janapada* or *rāshṭra*,—to feuda

lords and highly placed officers, for cognisable valuable services, rendered by them and the descendents of them, by their ability, intelligence and sagacity, found opportunities to rise much beyond their original status to the position of kings. When the Vijaya-nagara kingdom had grown to vast extent, the kings of the dynasty established capable men to rule over the provinces; and these were styled the Nāyakas. These provincial governors, by some inviolable terms not yet known to us, held their position hereditarily and acknowledged the overlordship of the sovereign power even when that power had been reduced to a state of insignificance. The position of the provincial chiefs remained unaffected and they were practically independent. Almost all great dynasties, in their palmy days, had followed the same principle. In some cases members belonging to the royal house were entrusted with the government of conquered territories. Thus the Pallavas, Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas had created such provincial rulers. Though the origin of the later Kāḍavarāya chiefs is wrapt in obscurity, there is no doubt that their first ancestor was a member of the Pallava lineage. The Pattapi-Chōḷa family was a creation of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I, after whom they styled themselves Madhurāntaka Pattapi-Chōḷas. Some of the Telugu-Chōḷa chiefs, who traced their descent from Karikāla, and the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya and viceroys of the Pāṇḍya Kēraḷa countries, who were also related to the members of the imperial family of the Chōḷas of Tanjore, are other instances. In fact among the duties enjoined on kings of yore,—such as the protection of the *dharma* of his subjects, the administration of the country in accordance with the established laws, the enforcing of the laws of the *kula*, *grāma*, *jāti*, *janapada*, *nagara* or *śrēṇi*, the proper using of the four-fold means of subjection, the granting of *parihāras* laying down *vyavasthas*, the earning of merit by the construction of works of public utility, making and granting of new villages, building of temples, feeding-houses and resting places, the digging of tanks, non-interference with the daily management of religious and

charitable endowments etc.,—the establishment of royal families or ruling chiefs is one. It was in accordance with this ancient rule of practice that several new families had come in and their origin remains to be traced. In some cases, tradition, as recorded in inscriptions, has preserved the origin of the family as noted already. When feudal lords assumed independence, there seems some likelihood of their preserving the origin in the titles which they bore. The titles *Daḷavāy* and *Nāyak* indicate that they were commanders of armies under their suzerain lords. Whether a similar origin could be traced for the *Rāshṭrakūṭas* requires to be investigated.

Some early members of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

The *Merkara* plates of the Western Gaṅga king *Avinīta* mention a certain *Akālavarsha-Śubhatuṅga* as having flourished in the 5th century A.D. Dr. Hultzsch has expressed the view that this *Akālavarsha-Śubhatuṅga* may be the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* king *Kṛishṇa*, father of *Indra* defeated by the Western *Chalukya Jayasimha I*. There is so much in the name and title of *Akālavarsha-Śubhatuṅga* that it is impossible to take him for a person of any other family. The *Merkara* plates and many others have indeed been pronounced as spurious by Fleet. Hultzsch did not consider his judgement a bar to the identification that he had made. The reference is important as proving the existence of the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* family at or before the time when the Western *Chalukyas* settled themselves in South India. At least Hultzsch did not think there was any impossibility of a *Rāshṭrakūṭa* figuring in such an early period and did not also question the correctness of *Jayasimha's* victory over the *Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa*. But Fleet took a different view. Speaking of certain coins he said, "though the tendency has been to refer these coins to an early *Rāshṭrakūṭa* king, who was supposed to have been conquered (in parenthesis you will note that it is no supposition but a plain statement made in a grant) somewhere about A.D. 500, by the Western *Chalukya Jayasimha I*, still

there is nothing that compels us to connect them with the Rāshtrakūṭa or any particular dynasty, and nothing to lead us to believe that any victory over the Rāshtrakūṭas or, indeed, any historical achievement at all, was accomplished by Jayasimha. The supposed existence of an early Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa-rāja, contemporaneous with Jayasimha I, depends on nothing but a statement which first appears in the 11th century A.D. and is to be accounted for by events which occurred about A.D. 975". He adds "according to the Kauṭhem grant of A.D. 1009, there was an early Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra, son of Kṛishṇa, who was conquered by Jayasimha I of the family of the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi, about the beginning of the 6th century A. D. The statement in question appears first in the 11th century A. D. after the overthrow of the Rāshtrakūṭas by the Western Chalukyas of Kalyāṇi." Because Dr. Fleet has thought that "there is nothing whatever to support it in the early records, it is to be accounted for simply by the facts that after the overthrow of Karka II by Taila II, there survived Indra IV, grandson of Kṛishṇa III by crowning whom the Gaṅga prince Mārasimha attempted to continue the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereignty". It is open to you to adopt this ingenious way of brushing away a fact and to lightly say that the Indians believed that history repeated itself and charter writers attributed to earlier kings of the family that they dealt with the achievements of later members'. While the above was the view of Fleet on the Merkara plates in which Akālavarsha Śubhatuṅga occurs and of the express statement that Jayasimha defeated Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa, son of Indra, he has held that Attivarman of the Guntur district grant may possibly be a Rāshtrakūṭa. He notes "Attivarman is described as born in the family of king Kandara, which was descended from the lineage of a great sage Ānanda and was purified by worshipping the God Śaṃbhu at Vaṅkēśwara." The grant has been treated as Pallava. "It is difficult to adopt these details to their accounts, though Attivarman does, like the Pallavas, claim to belong to posterity of *hiranyagarbha* i.e. Brahmā. On the

other hand, the name Kandhara,—and doubtless Kandhara also,—is a variant of Kṛishṇa ; and this suggests that he may possibly have been an early Rāshtrakūṭa ”.

Discoveries since made had not been favourable to the surmise of Fleet. In the preface to Volume VI of the South-Indian Inscription, I drew attention to a lithic record at Chezerala in the Guntur district which refers itself to the rule of the early Pallava king Mahēndravarmma-mahārāja of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, called also by the titles Avanibhājana, and Vēgavatisanātha. On the other face of the slab there is another inscription written in the same script: this and the one of Mahēndravarman seem to be materially connected. Though this inscription is much damaged, it has been possible to make out that the grandson of the chief Kandarāja through his daughter made rich donations to the local temple. Kandarāja, the inscription tells us, belonged to the lineage of Ānandamaharishi and was the lord of Kandarapura-janapada. He is styled *Trikūṭapārvatapati*. It appears that he had the banner of a monkey (*gōlāṅgūla-vijayakēṭana*). The further information that we could gather from the epithet *sitēlara Benṇānātha* given to him in the inscription is that the region where he held sway lay in the country watered by the Kṛishṇā river. These details are enough to exclude him from being a member of the Rāshtrakūṭa line, though there could be no doubt that the term *janapadādhipati* applied to him is an equivalent of ‘ a Rāshtrakūṭa king ’.

On the other hand his daughter is stated to be a great queen and her husband, who must have been of a different house, was a ruling chief or of royl descent. The chiefly interesting account about her son is that he is called Pṛithvīyavarāja, that he had the banner of the eagle (*gridhrādhyāsita-keṭanaḥ*) and his seal had the *garuḍa* mark (*sa-garuḍa-murariṣu-sanātha-śāsanaḥ*). He was the lord of *Samṛiddhapalli-janapada*. This *janapadādhipati* may well be a member of the Rāshtrakūṭa line to judge from the seal and banner.

What is specially worthy of note about this *janapadādhipati*—a term which means a Rāshtrakūṭa—is that his inscription is engraved on the one face of the same slab on which a record of the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I is incised, and almost in the same hand. Like the Rāshtrakūṭas, the chief had the *lānchhana* and flag. That there were other *janapadādhipatis*, who had different flags and seals, is clear from this very inscription which speaks of Kandararāja, the grandfather by the mother's side of the above mentioned chief, as the lord of Kandarapuravara-janapada and styled Triakūṭa-parvatapati having a monkey banner; he was the lord of the region watered by the Kṛishṇā river. Since Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, the younger brother of Pulakēśin II was entrusted with the rule of the Vēṅgī country in circa A. D. 615, the Chezerala inscription of Mahēndravarman I must be placed before that date. We may not be far wrong if we assign it to the year immediately preceding the commencement of the tour of conquest of Pulakēśin II (A. D. 609-612) in which he successfully defeated the kings of Kanauj, Kōsala and Kālīṅga, reduced the fortress of Piśhāpura, and forced the Pallava king to take refuge within the ramparts of Kāñchī. It seems unlikely that Mahēndravarman I had any hold on the region of the Kṛishṇā after A. D. 615. It is interesting to note that Prithvīyuvārāja figures as an *ājñapti* in the Kopparam grant of Pulakēśin II dated in the 21st year of reign (A. D. 630). His deeds of valour are described therein. He is said to have defeated the circle of enemies by his arm, which was the churning stick of the wicked people of the *Kali* age and which had performed daring deeds in many battles wielding the drawn sword: he is said to have secured the kingdom to the lineage of Pulakēśin's son. Unless we are assured that there were two Prithvīyuvārājas flourishing in the same time as indicated by the Kopparam grant of Pulakēśin II and the Chezerala inscription of the time of the Pallava Mahēndravarman I, we find no serious difficulty in identifying the two. The identification has much to tell us. There is no question that the Pallavas lost their hold

on the region, and their place was taken up by the Western Chalukyas, and their feudal subordinates. If Prithvīyuvārāja of *garuḷa-lāñchhana* and *gridhradhvaja* was a Rāshtrakūṭa, the political relationship of his to the Western Chalukya house at the time, is clearly seen by his fighting with the enemies of his overlord resulting in securing the kingdom to the son of Pulakēśin II. Though Pulakēśin II carried everything before him in the first quarter of the seventh century A. D., his reverses were not far off. Mahēndravarman's successor proved finally more than a match for him. The Koppāram plate indicates unmistakably that Pulakēśin and his sons were involved in trouble before A. D. 630 and a feudal subordinate had to come for rescue. The downfall of Pulakēśin II and the sacking of Bādāmi has been placed by Dr. Fleet just before A. D. 643. The fact that the inscription of Narasimhavarman I on the Jayasthamba set up by him after sacking the city is dated in the 13th year of the Pallava king's reign, makes it clear that he succeeded Mahēndravarman in A. D. 629-30 at the latest. This year, it may be noted, corresponds to the date of the Koppāram grant i. e. Pulakēśin's 21st year of reign. The Pallava hold on the city must have lasted for more than a decade from A. D. 643 to A. D. 655, which period is a blank in the history of the Western Chalukyas. That Vikramāditya I and his brothers were grown up in A. D. 630 is evidence by the same plates as well as from the account furnished in the Western Chalukya records of Vikramāditya's successors. While Vikramāditya concentrated his attention to making the unbending Pallava to bow before him and subduing the southern powers¹ i. e. Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, Kérala and Kaḷabhras, he seems to have entrusted the command of the army fighting in the north to his son and grandson. It is said that Vinayāditya at the command of his father engaged himself in a war with the northern kings and obtained the *Pālidhvaja* banner

1. pītur ājñayā sakala uttarāpatha - nātha - mathanōpārjjita-pālidhvajādisamasta-paramaiśvaryya-chihnasya ... mahārājādhirājaparamēśvara Vinayādityasya.

which was the symbol of paramountcy and had it for the family ; and that Vijayāditya advanced forth with the vanguard of his grandfather's forces and appropriated *Gaṅgā-yamunā-pālidhvaja-patāhaḍhakka-mahāśabda-chhihna*.¹ From the above, we see that the *Pālidhvaja* had become the permanent banner of the Western Chālukyas since the time of Vikramāditya. Any defeat inflicted on the Western Chālukyas will be signalised by the capture of the *Pālidhvaja* banner. This is necessary to be borne in mind in what we are going to say about the Rāshtrakūṭas whose banner was *garuḍa* or *gridhra*.

Another fact to be remembered is that the Chālukyas termed themselves Vallabha : and this term was also used by others to denote them. The Koppāram plates of Pulakēśin II call him Vallabha.² Pallava and Pāṇḍya inscriptions refer to the Western Chālukyas as Vallabha. So well known was the title Vallabha of the Chālukyas that the writer of the Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman referred to the kings of this line by this title alone without even mentioning their names :—³

Text 1. 14 f. Tasmāt Agastya iva vimathita Vātāpiḥ Pariyaḷa - Maṇimaṅgala - Śūramāra - prabhṛtiṣu jētā bahuśō *Vallabharājasya* Narasimhavarmamā. Ibid 1. 16 f. Peruvaḷanallūra-yuddhē vijita-Vallabhaḥ Paramēśvaravarmamā. These two Pallava kings and their conquest of the Vallabhas are described in the Vēlūrpaḷayam plates thus :—

V. II Tad-ātma-jād āvirabhūn - Mahēndrād - upēndrakīrtirn - Narasimhavarmamā Vātāpi-madhyē vijit-āri-varggaḥ-sthitān - jaya-stambham-alambhayad yaḥ.

1. dakṣināpatha-vijayini pitāmahē ...gurūr-agrataḥ ēva ābava-vyāpāramācharanGaṅgā-Yamunā-pālidhvaja-patāha-dhakkā-mahāśabda-chihna ... pitrisād-kurvan sakala-pāramaiśvaryya-vyakti pālidhvājady-ujjvala prājya rājyoVijayāditya ... mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara

2. Be it known to you that Vallabha being present in person, the execution (of the grant) was formally etc., ”.

3. S. I. I. Vol. III. p. 366.

V. 12 Tataḥ paramada-dhvamsī babbhūva Paramēśvaraḥ
Chālūkyā-kṣhitibhṛitsainya-dhṡānta-dhvaṡsa-divākaraḥ.

In later times, the epithet became more commonly adopted by other rules as well. Rāshṡrakūṡas sometimes affixed to their names and titles 'Vallabha' as Śubhatuṡgavallabha, Amōghavarshavallabha etc. This indiscriminate later application of the term causes no small confusion, and one has to be very cautious to find out who is really meant by the term whenever it occurs.

But it is not the case with the '*Pālidhvaja*'. It refers to the particular kind of banner which the Western Chālūkyas obtained in the first instance from some northern powers and appropriated to themselves. Therefore, it would appear that the Western Chālūkyas had no banner of their own before the time when they adopted this banner. Even if they had, the express statement that they appropriated it to themselves shows their willing preference. But it may be said that this is not usual, and one would not easily prefer to use another's banner or other *insignia* of royalty. I think we may be perfectly sure that when a king is said to have had the Pālidhvaja banner, he was a Chālūkyā and that when the banner of a king is said to have been captured by another it means that the former sustained a defeat. The statement cannot be taken literally, as it is sometimes done. From the foregoing, it will be seen that Prithvīyavarāja has a better claim to be regarded as an early member of the Rāshṡtrakūṡas by his banner and *lāṡchhana* than the two others who were suspected to be of that line. That he was a feudatory of the Western Chālūkyas of Bādāmī and rendered them valuable service in times of need is worthy of note.

The Rāshṡtrakūṡa family comes into prominence in the days of Dantidurga at the end of the first half of the 8th century A. D. we have to see the circumstances that favoured the rise of the family in South India and the state

of the Dekhan at the time. Two of the greatest powers of South India were the Pallavas and the western Chālukyas. The Pallavas were holding suzerain power all along the Eastern part of the Madras presidency (right up to Trichinopoly) for a number of centuries from the time of Śiva skandavarman. Their expansion obliterated for a period one of the most powerful kingdoms of Southern India *i.e.* the Chōlas. The Bāṇas were their feudatory allies and their territory lay next to the West and North stretching up to Śrīsailam. Of Mayūrasarman the first Kadamba king (cir. 5th century A. D.) it is said that he levied tribute from the Bāṇas. The Bāṇa country (Perumbāṇappāḍi) lay to the West of Vaḍugavaḷi. Further West were the dominions of the Western Gaṅgas ¹. By some terms of treaty, the Pallavas seem to have had a hand in the anointment of the Western Gaṅga kings. Ayyavarman or Harivarman and Simhavarman *alias* Mādhavarman were crowned by the Pallava sovereigns Simhavarman and Skandavarman ². Fleet gives to Ayyavarman's son Mādha mahādhirāja Simhavarman, installed by Skandavarman of the Pallavas, A.D. 470. This date is none too high for him. The interest taken by the Pallavas, at this time *i. e.* before the rise of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi, in the coronation of the Western Gaṅgas is noteworthy as indicating somewhat a close political relationship between the two houses. When the same right was exercised even in the days of Nandivarman III, one could see clearly that this cordiality continued. At the time when the Western Chālukyas appeared on the scene and carved out a kingdom for themselves by defeating the Kadambas and Western Gaṅgas, the Pallavas had to contend with them from their inception to the end. A genuine charter of Vikramāditya II, the Western Chālukya king, makes a clear admission of the sufferings inflicted on that king's predecessors by the Pallavas, and tells us of his own attitude

1. Of Koṅguḍivarman, the progenitor of the Western Gaṅgas, it is recorded that he was anointed to conquer the Bāṇa-maṇḍala.
2. Ip. Ind. Vol. XIV p. 332.

towards them.¹ It is recorded here " He (Vikramāditya II) resolved to uproot completely his natural enemy, the Pallavas who had robbed of their splendour the previous kings born of his race ".

With Kīrtivarman II, the son and successor of Virkrāmāditya II, whose reign extended up to A. D. 775, the career of the main line of Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi came to an end (Chālukya-rājya-śrīr antārayiny abhavat bhuvi²). The winding-up of this line did not benefit the Pallavas, who were all along contending with them, exhausting themselves and their opponents. The final defeat of the Western Chālukya Kīrtivarman was inflicted by the Rāshtrakūṭas and they came to occupy their place. By the way, we have to take particular note of the fact that the main line of the pallavas came to close in about the beginning of the 8th century A. D. The state of affairs in the pallava country which was left without a legitimate claimant in the main line, necessitating the ministers and others to go about borrowing one from a collateral branch, must have given a very favourable opportunity for the Rāshtrakūṭa predecessors of Dantidurga to rise into sudden importance resulting finally in the overthrow of the Western Chālukyas. The Rāshtrakūṭas had to contend hard with the newly set up king Nandivarman Pallavamalla supported as he was by an able general, and the final act of Dantidurga was really a very daring one. The territory over which the Western Chālukyas ruled, and to which their political successors, the Rāshtrakūṭas became practical heirs, is defined in copper-plates as ' *Sētu-Narmadā-madhyam sārḍha-saptalaksham* ' and it is said that it was obtained by the Western Chālukyas in the first instance by conquering the Kadambas and the Western Gaṅgas (*Kadamba Gaṅgān nirjjiya*³). The Western Chālukyas called the Western Gaṅgas as their hereditary servants⁴.

1. S. I. I. Vol. I p. 146.

2. Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. p. 11 f.

3. S. I. I. Vol. I. p. 54.

4. Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 303.

We know that the territory of the Rāshtrakūṭas in South India was called Raṭṭapāḍi and that it consisted of seven and a half lakshas. Being obtained by conquering the Western Chālukyas, it could be no other than the territory which they originally secured from the Kadambas and Western Gaṅgas and which bore the same index *sārddha-saptalaksham* as noted already. In this connection we may note that in India the original country or kingdom generally, always remained as such, and fresh conquests gave the conqueror only increased power and wealth as well as overlordship of the conquered territories which be it remembered, were left to be ruled by one of the members of the vanquished rulers. It is only in extreme cases, annexation of territories took place: even then the added territories very often retained their original extents and sometimes their names also. The *Dharma* of the country had been,—and it was followed or acted up to through ages,—that when a country had of necessity to be subdued by invasion which is the last of the four means that a king had to adopt, and the life of the enemy had to be sacrificed in battle, a *varṁśya* of the hostile king was invariably set up in the subjugated country. Vāli and Rāvaṇa might be despatched but in their places Sugrīva and Vibhīṣaṇa had to be installed. Though annexation of conquered territories might be the best expedient to prevent recurrence of wars and the consequent loss of lives, and remove the evil once for all it was seldom adopted in India, being not sanctioned by the Hindu Law. The Chōḷa conquest of the Vēṅgi country by Rājarāja I resulted in the installing of Dānārṇava. The Pāṇḍya King Māravarman Sundara-Paṇḍya I, when he reduced the Chōḷa dominions, volunteered to give back the kingdom and did so on the king submitting to the conqueror. The Chōḷa conquest of the Pāṇḍya and the Kēraḷa countries by Rājendra Chōḷa I and his predecessors, finally resulted in the appointment of a Chōḷa viceroy in the two countries, in addition to the ruling kings of the place. The same procedure may also be found adopted by the Rāshtrakūṭas, as will be seen in the sequel.

The position occupied by the Rāshtrakūṭas in South India, as sketched above, at once determined who their enemies were or would be. Foremost among the enemies would be the Western Chālukyas themselves, who, whenever they found fit opportunities, would try to avail of them to throw off their allegiance to the conqueror and to regain their original position. By stepping into the place of the Western Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūṭas became the hereditary enemies of the Pallavas with their feudatories the Western Gaṅgas, as were the Western Chālukyas before them. They would necessarily have to contend with the Bāṇas. It is also patent that no good feeling might be expected to last between the newly planted Rāshtrakūṭas and the Chālukyas of Vēṅgi in whose veins the blood of the Western Chālukyas ran. The history of the Rāshtrakūṭas must tell us how they grappled with the situation in South India, leave alone the part which they must have had to play with the powers that surrounded them in the country subjected to their original sway.

The Proddaṭūru inscription speaking of Dantidurga says¹ :— “ In this family there was the glorious Dantidurga who was the sole ruler of the earth, whose strength of arm was irresistible, and who long enjoyed as his sole mistress the Rāja-lakshmi that was obtained by churning the ocean of (the family of) the Chālukyas. On the entreaties of the damsels of the worlds of gods, the king Sāhasatuṅga went, while (yet) he was a youth, to heaven, just as a sun passes to the other world.”

The Proddaṭūru inscription tells us that Dantidurga enjoyed Lakshmi (*i. e.* the country) that was obtained by churning the ocean (*i. e.* by putting to route the armies of the Chālukyas). The achievement of Dantidurga is not new to history : it is

1. “ *Tatratnavayēyabhadra-ekapatih prithivyām S'ri-Dantidurga iti dur-dhara bāhu-viryak | Chālukya-sindhu-mathanōdbhava lakshmīm yas sambabhāra chiram āma-kul-aka-kāntām || Tasmin Sāhasatuṅga nripata Svas-sundari prārthitē yātē yāni Divam divākara-samam* ”

even more vividly described elsewhere as we shall see presently. But that Dantidurga was also known as Sāhasatuṅga and that he passed away while yet he was young, are not given in other records of the rāshtrakūṭas. Dantidurga's daring deeds of valour which must have earned the title or surname Sāhasatuṅga are described in more than one record¹ :—

Kāñchīśa-Kēraḷā-narādhipa-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya-Śrīharsha-Vajraṭa-vibhēda-vidhāna-dakṣaṁ Karṇāṭakaṁ balam anantam ajēyam-anyairbhṛityaiḥ kiyadbhirapi yas sahasājigāya॥ Abhrū.vibhaṅgam-agrihita niśāta-śāstram ajñātam aprāṇihitājñam apēyatatnam Yō Vallabhaṁ sapadi daṇḍa-balēna jitvā Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-tāmavāpa ॥

The conquest of Vallabha, by which is meant the Chālukya king Kirtivarman II, and the Karṇāṭa army which had in previous years defeated Śrīharsha, Vajraṭa and others, as found stated in Dantidurga's own record of Samangad² dated in A.D. 754, is noticed in the Talegaon plates³ of Kṛishṇa I dated in A.D. 768, the Alas plates⁴ of the *yuvārāja* Gōvinda II dated in A.D. 770 and elsewhere also; and no difficulty was felt in identifying the Vallabha mentioned therein with the Western Chālukya Kirtivarman II. It was by defeating this powerful Western Chālukya ruler that Dantidurga obtained the title of Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara, the supreme lord of kings, an epithet which necessarily implies that the conquered was a powerful king of some other dynasty. We think that a king of the Rāshtrakūṭa line will not be entitled to this high title of Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara by simply overcoming or subduing a prince of his own line who proved himself turbulent.

Dantidurga's earliest known inscription is that engraved on the Ellora plates,⁵ dated in Śaka 663 (A.D. 742) and pronounc-

1. See for instance Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII. v. 6 in p. and Vol. XXII p. 182 v.8

2. Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 11.

3. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII. p. 275.

4. *Ibid.* Vol. II p. 209.

5. *Ibid.* Vol. XXV. p. 25 f.

ed genuine by the editor. That Dantidurga did not reign long but passed away while he was yet young (*Svas-sundari-prārthitē yūni divaṃ gatē*) as the Proddaṭūru inscription puts it, is to some extent borne out by the fact that so far as known, he had only a reign of 16 years from A.D. 742 of the Ellora plates to A.D. 758 the earliest known date of Kṛishṇa I,¹ and there is likelihood of Kṛishṇa I having conquered and obtained possession of Vallabha's territory immediately after his accession coinciding with the date of the demise of Kirtivarman in A.D. 758. That Dantidurga left no sons and that Kṛishṇa I, his paternal uncle, succeeded him are recorded in many Rāshṭrakūṭa records.

We shall now take up the question as to what became of the country conquered by Dantidurga, after his demise. There is no doubt that eventually Kṛishṇarāja I brought it under his rule, relieving the subjects from the oppression which they were said to have been under-going under a certain Vallabha. One of the acts that mars the fine history of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family, as we have it presented, is that at the commencement of the reigns of almost all the kings of this line, there had been a dispute about succession, a feature that is seldom met with in any other annals of Indian kingdoms and that is hardly possible to be found in a family of kings who had good schooling in *Dharma* before assuming the royal purple, who were surrounded by fearless and learned councillors with good family traditions and high character, who had for their guidance the *Smritis* propounded by wise sages and the *Itihāsas* that put the principles in practical examples. We are in the threshold of the first of these astounding phenomena and it behoves us to investigate the matter thoroughly. One of the early authorities on the Rāshṭrakūṭa history² was for discrediting the statement of the Kadaba plates that Dantidurga died childless, on the score that it is found in a record 200 years after the occurrence. He was of opinion that

1. B. I. S. M. J. Vol. VIII. pp. 165 f.

2. Bom. Gaz. p. 194-5.

the prince dethroned or destroyed by Kṛishṇa I could not have been Dantidurga, as had been supposed by some writers, since he was a powerful monarch who for the first time acquired supreme sovereignty for his family.

We have noted about Dantidurga (i) that he died childless, (ii) that after him, Karkarāja's son Kṛishṇarāja I ascended the throne ridding the country of the sufferings which it was undergoing under a certain Vallabha, (iii) that Dantidurga went to heaven while he was yet a youth and (iv) that his reign, so far as we know it, extends only to 16 years. It will be seen that the last facts only go to confirm what is reported in the Kadaba plates. Add to these, we may say that no mention of son of Dantidurga is made either in his own records or in others.

Now, the Proddaṭūru inscription tells us pointedly that on the death of Dantidurga, the country was reduced to the position of a *vēśyā*, before it came under the permanent enjoyment of Kṛishṇarāja. The verse under reference is :—

Tasmin Sāhasatuṅga-nāmni nṛipatau Svas-sundarī-prārthitē
yātē yūni divaṁ divākarasamaṁ vēśya ēva Lakshmī tataḥ ।
Tatrāvāpa bhuja-dvayēna nibiḍaṁ sāslishya ramyair guṇaiḥ prītyā
prāṇasamaṁ chiraṁ ramayati Śrī-Kṛishṇarājādhipam ॥

Vēśyēva applied to Lakshmī (i. e. the kingdom) leads one to infer that the kingdom was subject to the possession of at least one else before it passed into the hands of Kṛishṇarāja. It is a question whether the one into whose possession it fell at first was a member of the Rāshṭrakūṭa line or not. More probably he was not of the line. Next the use of the word *chiraṁ* with regard to her union with Kṛishṇa I is suggestive of the fact that it was only for a short time that it was under another and that it did not take long for Kṛishṇa to obtain it. Lastly the verse also indicates that Dantidurga left no sons to succeed him. In this connection it is necessary to refer to verses which speak of Dantidurga and Kṛishṇa I. Just as it is said of Dantidurga that he obtained the paramount dignity of Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara after conquering

Vallabha,¹ Krishṇarāja is said to have obtained the same dignity by conquering a certain Rāhappa.² The question is whether the kings overcome viz. Vallabha and Rāhappa must be rulers of different countries or whether they were members of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa line. We have noted that the very title Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara which the conqueror obtained suggests that the kings vanquished must be rulers of different countries. In the account about Dantidurga and Krishṇarāja, we find that the conquest of Vallabhā which gave the dignity of Rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara to Dantidurga is immediately followed by a verse which states "that when the Vallabha had passed away Karkkarāja's son Krishṇarāja became king." Vallabha here is usually taken to refer to Dantidurga and not to the immediately preceding Vallabha whom Dantidurga vanquished and who had correctly been identified with the Western Chālukya king Kirtivarman II. This, we think, is done for the natural reason that the succession must speak of the predecessor's passing away. Cannot there be a reference in the verse quoted, to a Western Chālukya king? Barring this reference there is no other which calls Dantidurga by the term Vallabha.

The verse under reference is read as follows in the Talegaon plates:—

Tasmin divaṁ prayātē Vallabharājēs-kṛita-prajā-vādha [h] ।

Śrī-Kakkarāja-sūnurmmahīpati [h] Kṛishṇarāj-ōbhūt ॥

and this has been rendered "After he, the Vallabharāja, had gone to heaven, Kṛishṇarāja I, the son of Kakkarāja, who did not oppress his subjects, became the lord of the Earth." A reference to line 12 on the plate will show that there is some space between *va* and *dha* which will just suffice for the *ē* sign of *dhē*. The reading intended is certainly *kṛita-prajā-vā (bā) dhē* and not *vāda [h]*. In this connection we may also note that there is absolutely no space after *dha*. The *kṛi* of *kṛita* exactly resembles *kṛi* of *Kṛishṇa* occurring at the end of the same line 12,

1 Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII. p. 279, v. 6 and Vol XXII, p. 182 v. 8

2 Ibid. Vol. XXII. p. 183

The reading *kṛita-prajā-bādhe* occurs in other plates as well. This word in the locative case is an adjunct of Vallabharāja. Who is this Vallabharāja? In the last half of the previous verse Vallabha has been introduced as the enemy conquered by Dantidurga, and there, there is no doubt that it refers to the Western Chālukya ruler (Kirtivarman II). The words *tasmin divaṁ prayātē Vallabharājē* following immediately the Vallabha of the previous line may in all likelihood refer to the same person. Besides, Dantidurga is not given the surname Vallabharāja which is generally assumed by the Western Chālukya kings. And for aught we know, as explained already, Kṛishṇa's accession did not follow the demise of Dantidurga. That the kingdom had been in the enjoyment of another after Dantidurga and before Kṛishṇa, has also been noted. In editing the Talegaon plates Dr. Sten Konow has remarked:—

Dr. Fleet has mentioned that Dantidurga's epithet Vallabharāja, (which occurs in line 12 of the Talegaon plates), is of interest "because through its Prākṛit forms, it explains the name Balharas" by which the contemporaneous Arab travellers and geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries A. D. used to speak of these kings". Dantidurga's successor was his paternal uncle Kṛishṇarāja I, and the present grant was issued by him. According to the Baroda plates of the Rāshṭrākūṭa king Kakkarāja Suvarṇavarsha of Gujerat, Kṛishṇa ascended the throne after uprooting a relative of his¹; Compare

*Yō vanis'yaṁ unmulya vimārggabhājāṁ rājyaṁ svayaṁ
gōtra-hitāya chakrē*

Dr. Fleet was inclined to infer from this statement that Kṛishṇarāja forcibly replaced his nephew Dantidurga. The wording of verse 9 of Kṛishṇarāja's own grant, however, would lead us to believe that the relative whom he had to fight was somebody else, who claimed the throne after Dantidurga's death.



(v. 9) After he, the Vallabharāja, had gone to heaven, Kṛishṇarāja I, the son of Kakkarāja, who did not oppress his subjects, became the lord of the earth. ”

This rendering is obtained by adopting the reading *akrita-prajā-bādaḥ* of what ought to be *kṛita-prajā-bādhē* referring to Vallabharāja and not of Kṛishṇarāja.

But from the Proddaṭūru inscription and the Baroda plates, it is certain that the kingdom which Kṛishṇarāja brought under his direct rule for the good of the family was in charge of another. This person is referred to by the term *vaṁśya* in the Baroda plates with the epithet *vimārggabhāja*. and Vallabharāja with the epithet *kṛitaprajā-bādhē* in the Talegaon plates, showing clearly the necessity for Kṛishṇarāj's interference and for bringing the country under his rule. From the fresh light obtained from the Proddaṭūru inscription, it becomes obvious that the royal person indicated by the terms *vaṁśya* or *Vallabha* is not to be identified with Dantidurga. And we have stated already that by Vallabha must be meant a Western Chālukya king. We may add here that he need not necessarily be Kirtivarmān himself though that is not improbable. Again, the date of the Antroli-chharoli record¹ (A. D. 757) falling between the latest known year of Dantidurga and the date of the earliest record of Kṛishṇa I in Bhārat Itihāsa Maṇḍal viz. 758 A.D. coupled with the ordinary connotation of the word *vaṁśya* would naturally suggest that Kakka II might be the person intended. But we see nothing to fit him to the description (*vimārga-bhājā*) given about Kṛishṇa's opponent (and there is no surety that there are no earlier dates for him than A.D. 757). *Vaṁśya* does mean ' a kinsman ' but not one connected with Dantidurga or Kṛishṇarāja, being referred to by the epithet Vallabharāja. When a country is conquered, as in the case under reference the law of the land enjoins that the conqueror should instal on the throne of the vanquished country a member belonging to the royal

1. J. Bo B. A. S. Vol. XVI. p. 106

family of the latter, dicating the terms to be abided by him, besides granting *parihāras* for the damages done during the war to the religious and administrative institutions in the conquered country. Vishṇu-sūtra has the following on the subject :—

“ Having conquered the country, let him (the conqueror) not abolish the *dharma* of that country (III, 42). A king having conquered the capital of the foe, should invest there a prince of the royal race of that country with the royal dignity (III, 47). Let him not exterpate the royal race (48) unless the royal race be of ignoble descent (49). ” On the same, Manu lays down :—

Jitvā saṃpūjayēt dēvā brāhmaṇāṃśchaiva dhārmikān ।
Pradadyāt parihārāṃścha khyāpayēd abhayāni cha ॥
Sarvcshāṃ tu viditvaishāṃ samāsāna chikīrshitāṃ ।
Sthāpayēttatra tad-*vaṃs'yaṃ* kuryāchcha samayakṛiyāṃ ॥
Pramāṇāni cha kurvīta tēshāṃ dharmyānyathōditān ।

According to both the authorities, the one is installed on the throne — a member of the vanquished royal family — is called *vaṃs'ya* ; and it is this *vaṃs'ya* established by Dantidurga that had to be uprooted by kṛishṇarāja owing to this misbehaviour, meaning perhaps the non-observance of the terms of the treaty (*samaya-kṛiya*) or disturbing the peace of the people. Thus, not only is *vaṃs'ya* of one record reconciled to the term *Vallabha* of the other records but it also shows that he must have been a member, distant though it be, of the Western Chālukya race.

We have already referred to the fact that this Vallabha was afflicting the subjects much. The same idea is also conveyed by the application of the epithet *kshata-prajā-bādha* to Kṛishṇarāja who took over his kingdom and relieved the subjects from the oppression of that ruler. We think that *prajābādha* cannot have any reference to Dantidurga. The scheme of the *pras'asti* writer, as could be seen from the way in which Dantidurga easily is described, was only to praise him and not to denounce him. And he could never have imagined the possibility of a mis-

application of the term in question to any other than Vallabha whom he had introduced in the preceding verse. *Inter alia* the poet has shown the effect of the conquest of Dantidurga viz. that he had brought under his parasol the whole earth from mountain to mountain and from sea to sea :—

āśētōr-vipulāvali-lasal-lōl-ōrmī-mālā- jalād- ā-prālēya-kala-
mkit-āmala-śilā-jālāt tushār-āchalāt ā-pūrv-ā-para-vāri-rāśi-pulina
prānta-prasiddh-āvadhīr ēnēyam jagati sva-vikrama-balēna
ēkāta-patīkṛitā. In our opinion there is absolutely nothing in the
composition of the *prastuti* writer to show that Dantidurga
proved himself so intolerable that his paternal uncle should try
to oust him and assume the reins of government. We think it
gratuitous to say that Dantidurga “seems to have ultimately
made himself unpopular and to have been deposed in favour of
his uncle Kṛishṇa I”, and that “Kṛishṇa I uprooted his rela-
tive (Dantidurga) who had resorted to evil ways and appropri-
ated the kingdom to himself for the benefit of his family ”.

That Dantidurga, after obtaining the kingdom of the
Chālukyas, did reign long is assured by the statement ‘ Chālukya-
Sindhu-mathan-ōdbhava lakshmīm sambabhāra chiram ātma-
kulaika kāntām ’.

And how did he pass away ? Though other inscriptions
are silent on this point, the Proddaṭūru inscription tells us that
by the entreaties of the damsels of *svargalōka*, he went away to
that region while he was yet young. Here one might understand
that he met with his death in a battlefield against his enemy,
who might be the Vallabha Kīrtivarman or a kinsman of his
whom the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor had set up.

That Kṛishṇarāja, just like his predecessor Dantidurga, had
again to conquer the Chālukyas in battle and obtain their
kingdom,—not that he became heir to this kingdom conquered
by Dantidurga is very clearly expressed in the following verse :—

Svayamvarībhūra-ṛaṇāṅgaṇē tataḥ sa nirvyapēksham Śubha-
tuṅga-Vallabhaḥ chakarsha Chālukya-kula-śriyam balād vilōla-

pāli-dhvaja-māla-bhāriṇīm. Akālavārshō hata-bhūpa-rājakō babh-
ūva rājarshir-asēsha-puṇyakrit.

Thus from what has been said above it will be seen that after the death of Dantidurga, there was no dispute about the succession of Kṛishṇarāja : in this case, the dispute about succession had been conceived by wrongly equating Vallabha with Dantidurga and making *vaṁs'ya* a kinsman of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family.

The Proddaṭūru inscription does not say much about the rule or achievements of Kṛishṇarāj I. From the statements of the Baroda plates and others which we have noticed viz. that he removed the sufferings of the people under Vallabha and brought the country under *his own rule*, it may perhaps be inferred that he was already a ruler when he did it. It is not unlikely that while a branch of the family was ruling over the conquered portion, another branch of it was in charge of the more northern part of the dominions. The earliest inscription of his own time is what is published in the Bharat Itihasa Somsodhak Maṇḍal dated in A. D. 758. In the Talegaon plates he is said to have led an expedition against the Western Gaṅgas and to have had his camp at Maṇṇainagar on March 23 of A. D. 768.

The following verse gives us to know that Kāñchi was subject to Kṛishṇa I¹ :—

Nityaṁ sã prakṛiti-sthir-ātata-chalã varṇṇ-ōjjvalã suprajã-
ślãghyã sad-vishay-ōpabhōga-subhagã bhāvair bhṛiṣaṁ

bhūshitã |

viśrabdhaṁ kaṭaka-prasãdhita-tanur viśvambharã-bhōginã
bhuktã yēna chiraṁ nijēva vanitã-Kāñchī guṇ-ālaṅkṛitã ||

As it is said of his son Gōvinda that he was a very Mandara mountain in churning the ocean of battle and an axe to the multitude of wicked foes², it is certain that he rendered inval-

1. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII. p. 280, v.16.

2. *Ibid* p 282,

able aid to his father in the latter's military operations. That Kṛishṇa I had hard fights with the Western Chālukyas is let known to us in many inscriptions. The Cambay plates tell us that he destroyed the vast race of the Chālukyas¹:—

Tasy-ādyam nṛpatēḥ pitṛivya dayī śrī-vīrasimhāsanaṁ mērōḥ
śrīṅgamivādhiruhya ravivach chhṛī-Kṛishṇarāja stataḥ dhvast
ōrikts Chālukya-vamśa-timirah prithivī bhṛitām mastakē nya
sth-āṅghriḥ sakalam jagat pravitatais tējōbhīr ākrantavān ॥

The Wani grant of A.D. 807 says that Kṛishṇa I quickly tore away the goddess of fortune from the Chālukya family, which was hard to be overcome by others,² and the Baroda grant adds that he transformed into a deer *i.e.* put to flight the great boar *i.e.* the Chālukyas, which was seized with an itching for battle and which kindled with the warmth of bravery attacked him. Wani and Rāadhanpūr plates speak of Kṛishṇa I "as having with the aid of gods in the form of counsellors or followers, churned the ocean of the Chālukya race which had been resorted to by mountains in the shape of kings afraid of their wings or power being destroyed — an ocean that was inaccessible to others — and drawn out from it the Lakamī" of paramount sovereignty. The statement that Kṛishṇa drew out Lakshmi of paramount sovereignty by churning the ocean of the Chālukyas will be seen to agree well with the description in the Proddaṭūru inscription, Vēśyēva etc. Others describe him as extending his sovereignty by conquering a certain Rāhappa and obtained supreme sovereignty resplendent with numerous *pālīdhvaja* banners.³ We do not countenance the view that the credit of overthrowing the W. Chālukyas really belonged to Dantidurga and that it was foisted by later charter writers on Kṛishṇa I.

Finally, before proceeding, a word may be said about Rāhappa by defeating whom Kṛishṇa I is said to have obtained

1. *Ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 37, v. 8.

2. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 160.

3. *Bom. Gaz.* p. 391.

the dignity of Rājādhi-rāja-Paramēśvara and about whose identity there is so much doubt and difficulty. The verse which describes the achievement runs thus :—

Rāhappam ātma-bhuja-jāta-balāvalēpaṁ ājau vijitya nisītāsi-
latā prahāraiḥ ।

Pālidhvajāval-subhām acbirēṇa yō hi Rājādhirāja-paramēs-
varatām tatāna ॥

I would only request you to compare this verse with the one quoted above (*svayamvarī-bhūta-raṇāṅgaṇe* etc.). Without any comment it will be admitted that what is expressed in the verse about Rāhappa by the words “*Rāhappam-ājau vijitya-Pālidhva-jāvali-subhām Rājādhirāja-Paramēs-varatām tatāna*” is conveyed in the other verse by “*Raṇāṅgaṇēnata-bhūpa-rājakō Pālidhvaja-māla-bhāriṇīm Chālukya-kulas'riyam chakarsha*” This establishes the identity of Rāhappa with the king or chief of the Western Chālukya country at the time of Kṛishṇa I. That the *Pālidhvaja* was the supreme dignity of the Chālukyas is expressed in numerous copper-plates of the Western Chālukyas in the “*Pālidhvajādi samasta Pārama-is'varyya chihnasya*” and “*sakala-pāramais'varyya-vyakti hētu-pālidhvajādy-ujjvala prājya-rājyō*”. *Pālidhvajā* was the *chihna* of supreme sovereignty of the W. Chālukyas.

From what has been said above, it will be seen that though the Western Chālukyas had been defeated by Dantidurga, the members belonging to the family continued to exist with regal powers and the *insignia* of royalty and that they did not fail to seize opportunities that afforded themselves, to offer resistance to the rulers of the newly set up kingdom and to try to assert their independence again and again. This will be more evident in the sequel. Here, perhaps, it will be enough to say that the limited territory of the supplanted Western Chālukyas was closely under the watch of, and contiguous to that part of the Rāshtrakūṭa country which was under the charge of the younger branch of the family and which seems to have consisted of northern and western portions of the dominion bordering on Gujerat. We

have shown that the kings of the Western Chālukyas continued to be called by the ancient titular designation of Vallabha and their banner was still *Pāḍhvaja*. The larger portion of the Rāshtrakūṭa dominion in the South consisting of the eastern and southern divisions, touching the borders of Vēṅgi, Pallava, Bāṇa and Western Gaṅga territories, was under the rule of the older branch. To this main line the other branch was more or less subordinate. This kind of apportionment may be supposed to have been made before the demise of Dantidurga and Kṛishṇa rāja, the father's younger brother of Dantidurga, might well be the first king of the branch and held the position as ruler before he subjugated the Western Chālukyas and became the ruler of that country sometime after Dantidurga. The division was perhaps necessitated by the new extension of the Rāshtrakūṭa dominion when Dantidurga's predecessors extended their territory and Dantidurga conquered the Western Chālukya country, and particularly deprived the Chālukya king of his power. The Rāshtrakūṭas could not have been unaware of the fact that they will not be left in undisputed possession of the new acquisition by the surrounding powers *i. e.* the Western Chālukyas, Pallavas, Bāṇas and Western Gaṅgas. The division is quite akin to and might have been copied from the Chālukyas themselves. A later adoption of the procedure may be found among the Chōḷas: Rājendra Chōḷa I is said to have left the Pāṇḍya country which he conquered under a viceroy who was of the royal line of the Chōḷas.

Gōvinda II and Dhruva

That Gōvinda II was a valorous prince and proved himself useful to his father in the wars undertaken by him is well borne out by the description given of him both in the record of Kṛishṇa I and in the Alas plates issued while Gōvinda was a *Yuvarāja*. That his succession must have been determined by his father is certain by the investiture of the title *yuvarāja*. The Proddaṭūru inscription furnishes useful information as regards Gōvinda II

which serves to remove some of the misconceptions entertained previously regarding his rule and the attitude of his younger brother towards him. In the first place it does not tell us that his succession was at all disputed. the following is the verse¹ that speaks of Gōvinda II :—

Tasmād-abbhūt sūnur udāra-kīrttiḥ Prabhūtavarshō bhuvam
āśasāda yat-sēnān-īndra-mada-mardhanāt Gāṅgō yō Yāmu-
nivad vibhāti ||

From this, we learn that he came quite regularly after his father and ruled the dominion (*bhuvam āśasāda*). This statement of the Proddaṭūru inscription clearly proves the incorrectness of the inference that “ the successor of Kṛishṇa I was his younger son Dhruva and that Gōvinda II had no real part in the succession at all² ”. Not only did Gōvinda II succeed his father Kṛishṇa I and rule the kingdom, but that during his rule,— short as it was,— he smashed a certain foe. The result of the action was that it made the Gaṅga appear as Yamunā which in plain language perhaps means that he inflicted a signal defeat on the Gaṅga king. Gaṅga Yamunā figure among the insignia of royalty of the Chālukyas. The Baroda plates state that Gōvinda III “ after taking away simultaneously from his enemy the rivers Gaṅga and Yamunā, coming through their waves, attained to the best and highest rank, by means of the display of the actual signs of these rivers.³ ”

The Proddaṭūru incirption then proceeds to tell us, in verse 8, which runs thus, how Dhruva became king :—

Ratipatir-uru-bhāvē darśanāt sundariṇām surata dhattē
tatra bhūpē-nujasya | Dhruva iti nṛipatitvē mantribhis-ch
ābhishiktē Nirupama iti bhūmau ma budhō-pi

The Deoli and Karhad plates say that Gōvinda himself gave over the administration to his younger brother Dhruva as he was

1. v. 7.

2. Ep. Ind. Vol. VII. p. 230.

3. Ind Ant. Vol. XII p 159, text lines, 22-3

excessively indulging in sensual pleasures.¹ This is very important as it settles at once that there was no one placed over the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom between Gōvinda II and Dhruva : there is absolutely no room at all for thinking that the elder was overthrown or ousted by the younger. The statement of the Proddaṭūru inscription, it is needless to say, only confirms the report made in the copper plates that "sensual pleasures made Gōvinda careless of his kingdom, and, that he entrusted fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, allowed his position as sovereign to become loose²". This willing resignation of kingly powers by Gōvinda, we are disposed to think, must have been made in the best interest of government and of the family, so that in the indulgence of sensual pleasures he might not be hampered by any care of the State and no blame on that score might also be thrown on him. Dr. Buhler's holding³ that Gōvinda II was dethroned by his younger brother Dhruva receives no support. Some plates employ the phrase '*Jyēshṭhōllāṅghana*' with reference to Dhruva, and some others omit to mention Gōvinda II while giving the genealogy. From these Dr. Fleet inferred a complete supercession of Gōvinda. The same authority adds that Dhruva made an attempt to secure the succession to himself, and this, he says, is shown by a statement in the Paiṭhan grant of A. D. 796, which, according to him, means that he called to his assistance even the hostile kings of Mālwa, Kāñchi and Vēṅgi and of the Gaṅga country.⁴ We shall refer to the real statement in the Paiṭhan grant later. But here it may be noted that on the face of the express statement that Gōvinda

1. Ep. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 278 ff

2. Gōvindarāja-iti tasya babhūva nāmnā sūnussa bhūga-bhara-bhaṅgura
rāja-chintah |

Ātmānujē Nirupamē vinivēs'ya samyak sāmrajyam īs'vara padam s'ithilī
chakāra.

Ep. Ind. Vol. V. p. 193 : also Karhad plates *Ibid.* Vol. IV p. 298.

3. Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 62.

4. Bom. Gaz. Vol. I. pt II, p. 393.

himself gave over the kingdom to Dhruva, we are precluded from attributing to the word *ullāṅghana* any more sense than the transgression of (the usual) order which the action of Gōvinda certainly involved. The gift itself speaks to the perfect good feeling that must have existed between the brothers. The gift was followed by the anointment of Dhruva as sovereign by the ministers (*mantribhir-abhishiktā*). Thus according to the account of the plates the succession of Dhruva was not disputed and there was no room for any dispute. It is plain also that there was no hostility between the two brothers. Under the circumstances we are made to understand that there were two anointed kings at the time of which we are speaking, in the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom. One *de jure* anointed by Kṛishṇa I and the other *de facto* anointed by the ministers without bearing any ill-will. The Daulatabad inscription tells us how Dhruva came to bear the burden of the kingdom that was actually placed under another,—another here meaning Gōvinda II,—with perfect devotion to the elder and how it was abandoned (by his brother king who was given up to sensual pleasures). The verse under reference is¹ :—

Tasyānujō Nirupamas tam udīrṇam īkshya tyaktam nṛipair api
 nayēna vilupyamānam | rājyam babbhāra guru-bhaktivatō-
 anya-samstham mābhūt kil ānvaya-parichyutir atra laksh-
 myāḥ ||

In the interpretation of this verse some differences exist and we note two renderings below :—

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has “ His younger brother was Nirūpama, who, perceiving him self-conceited, abandoned by (feudatory) princes, and even devoid of policy, assumed the royal authority, placed (in the hands of) other than one possessed of devotion for the predecessors, in order that the sovereignty might not deviate from the family. ” (Ep. Ind. Vol. XXII. p.

1. Verses 18 to 20 occur in the Jethwai and Bhor museum plates with the same numbers: verses 21 and 22 occur in the Bhor museum and Paithān inscriptions.

103.) Dr. Altekar remarking on this verse has " The Daulatabad plates describe how Gōvinda had to be deposed by Dhruva in the interest of the family, as he had entrusted the administration to some stranger and was being deserted by the feudatories." (p. 49 n). The use of the word *anya-saṁstham* in the above has led to the conjecture that Gōvinda II set up one that was not of the family, to rule over the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom and that Dhruva had to wrest it from him. The verse only tells us that Dhruva bore the burden of the kingdom that was placed in the hands of another, actuated by the thought that the country should not be lost to the family. *Anyasaṁstham* has reference to Gōvinda who, as we know, was anointed to the kingdom by his father and not to any stranger.

✓ The Karhad and the Proddaṭūru records remove all possible doubts by expressly saying that the kingdom, which was ruled by Gōvinda II, was bestowed by him on his younger brother ; and the Paiṭhaṇ plates and one of the Bhor museum records affirm that Dhruva's mind remained unchanged towards his brother and that he gave him gold and ornaments. Dhruva, like his predecessors, had to wage a war with Vallabha which he did and captured his adversary's banner called *pālidhvaja*. Among other achievements, Dhruva is said to have imprisoned a Gaṅga king and taken elephants from a Pallava king. As the verses have led to series of inferences resulting in the establishment of inveterate hatred between the brothers Gōvinda II and Dhruva and the consequent actions and counter-actions, we may go through them here.

Verse 17 states that Kṛishṇarāja went to the world of gods.

Verse 18 speaks of his eldest son Gōvinda II and of his valour, and states that by him the king styled Vallabha was conquered in battle.

Verse 19 speaks in general terms of Gōvinda's younger brother Dhruva and states that by his prowess the entire circle of enemies had been calmed down.

Verse 20 which may be regarded as a character sketch of Dhruva's rule, says that there was perfect contentment in the world when the kingdom came under this good lord, the ornament of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family, who was truthful, self-controlled, and was a storehouse of good qualities and steady in his devotion to truth : and all the people right up to the end of the ocean pursued the path of the *dharma*.

Verse 21 specifies the hostile kings *i.e.* the lords of Kāñchi, the princes of Gaṅga and Vēṅgi, the lords of Mājavā, and Prāchya whom he (Dhruva not Gōvinda) brought home : and states that even then *i. e.* when he was in the height of power, he kept his mind unchanged towards his brother and bestowed on him ornaments of gems and gold.

Verse 22, the last verse, states that seeing that Vallabha could not be reconciled by any of the (three) reconciliatory measures adopted, Dhruva had to adopt the fourth expedient of war against him and to defeat him. By so doing he obtained the permanent sovereignty of *Paramēs'varatvam* decorated with the *Pāliḍhvaja*.

On the import of the last two verses Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar notes in Ep.Ind.Vol.XXII.p.103 f, that 'the Paiṭhaṇ plates furnish in two stanzas the following. " Although he (Gōvindarāja) brought kings in numbers, hostile as they were (such as) the ruler of Mājavā and so forth, joined by the lord of Kāñchi, the Gaṅga and the prince of Vēṅgi, he (Dhruvarāja) gave ruby ornaments and a quantity of gold, and, over and above that, kept his mind unchanged towards (his) brother. Thereafter, when even after conciliation and other remedies, Vallabha (Gōvinda) did not make peace, (Dhruvarāja) the great ruler speedily vanquished him in a battle offered by the brother, expelled the enemies from the east and the north and secured the sovereignty decorated with the insignia of the effulgent *pāliḍhvaja* ". In foot note 4 on page 178 of the same volume, the editor of the Epigraphia writes ' This verse (22) may be translated as follows :—

“ When the Vallabha (i. e. Gōvinda II) did not make peace through conciliatory measures then, the great and mighty lord (*mahēnō-vibhuḥ* i.e. Dhruva) forthwith defeated him in a battle in which the army consisted of the four divisions and, therefore, obtained the entire sovereignty of the king, decorated with the emblems of *pālidhvaja* glittering in the East, North, West and the South ”.

In this last mentioned rendering of verse 22 which seems to be perfect, I would only question the equation of Vallabha with Gōvinda II, for there is no warrant for it. Vallabha here, as in the case of the verse describing Krishṇarāja I's conquest, refers to the Western Chālukya ruler to whom alone the *Pālidhvaja* banner is appropriate, as distinctly borne out by numerous references. For verse 21 I adopt the translation of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar omitting the equation of Gōvindarāja for the pronoun ' he ' which clearly refers to Dhruva. The whole verse describes Dhruva's victory over the several kings mentioned, and states at the end that he did not alter his regard for his brother, even in the height of his glory. That Dhruva had conquered the Western Gaṅga and Pallava kings is clearly conveyed also in the following verse occurring in the Jethwai plates in place of verse 21, just quoted from the Paiṭhaṇ plates :—

yōsau prasādhita-jagatrayasāra-durggō Gaṅgaugha-santati
nirōdha-vivridha kīrttiḥ |

Ātmikṛit-ōnnata-Vṛishāṅka vibhūtir-uchchair-vyaktaṁ tatāna
Paramēśvaratām-ih aikaḥ ||

As for the verse 22, we may safely take the rendering of the Editor of the Epigraphia Indica, here again, omitting the equation of Vallabha with Gōvinda. That the *Pālidhvaja* banner belonged to the enemy of the Rāshṭrakūṭa and not to the Rāshṭrakūṭa king had been made evident from numerous references in the Western Chālukya and Rāshṭrakūṭa records. The following is the one more as such. (v. 25 f which speaks of Gōvinda IV) :—

Yad-adhi dig-vijayāvasarē sati prasabha sambhrama-bhāvan
ayēva bhūḥ Sapadi nṛityati pāli-mahādhvaj-ōchchhṛita-
karaṅga-kunātha-vivarjjitā

which had been translated by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar thus :—

“ On the occasion of the conquest of the quarters, the Earth, with uplifted hands (consisting of) mighty *pālidhvaja* and abandoning other kings, forthwith quivers, as if by the causing of a violent bustle (as a woman, when freed from an evil lord dances with uplifted hands as if through intense joyous excitement ” Here *Pālidhvaja* is clearly one borne by the enemy king and wrested from him. The simile makes it plain.

Thus, there is nothing in this account of Dhruva and his brother to hint any kind of enmity between them, much less of any revolutionary motives. All the wrong notions have arisen by equating Vallabha with Gōvinda II. Though the epithet Vallabha itself is sufficient to stamp the enemy of Dhruva as a Western Chālukya, there is the additional clinching proof afforded in the *pālidhvaja* banner which he is said to have had.

When once the real position is conceived that Gōvinda II was actually at the head of the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom for a few years after the demise of Kṛishṇarāja I, being anointed thereto by his father, as the title *yuvarāja* assumed by him even when his father was alive shows, his rule being confirmed by the statement in the Proddaṭṭuru inscription, and that Gōvinda, in his turn, gave over the management of the kingdom to his younger brother Dhruva, himself not ceasing to exist or being divested of the authority once vested with him, and that Dhruva, a *dhārmika* king, with perfect good regard for his elder brother, accepted the charge that was entrusted to him, not with any greed for power or of selfish gain, but purely out of the thought of saving the kingdom from becoming a prey to the enemy and to retain it for the family of the Rāshtrakūṭas, and was regularly anointed as (an additional) king by the ministers, there will be nothing surprising or untoward if we find that some of the records of the

time are dated in the reign of or issued under the orders of either of the two kings. Thus, the Pimpāri plates issued in S'aka 697 recognising Dhruva as sovereign, and the Dhūlia grant of Karkarāja, son of Dhruva, issued in the reign of and under the orders of Gōvinda II some years later *i.e.* in S'aka 701, are in perfect order: There is nothing to stamp either of them as spurious on consideration of their dates. We need not go about finding any special arguments to say why the documents were issued in the reign of the respective king whose name they contain.

That Gōvinda II was addicted to sensual pleasures to the extent of neglecting the kingdom that was placed in his charge is well proclaimed in the Rāshtrakūṭa records. That other kings must have abandoned or shunned him, there is no doubt. But that he was ever ousted by his own younger brother Dhruva, is an assumption completely lacking in authority and incapable of being justly maintained. Gōvinda was a proved soldier. While he was yet an heir-apparent, he defeated the lord of Vēṅgi. And during the short period when he held the reins of government, he conducted a successful war against one called Vallabha. Passion outweighing kingly authority, he deliberately chose to entrust the kingdom to his younger brother, who was much devoted to him and was firmly established in *dharma*. There was no fear of his ever being imposed upon. He could not have been unconscious of the fact that his position would become loose by the action he did. In what he had done, it must be said that he had displayed sound judgement. And there is no doubt that he must have been quite conscious of his own strength and the strength of his younger brother. The safety of the kingdom under the circumstances lay only in the step which he had boldly taken.

That there was amity and good will between the two brothers is in evidence by Gōvinda's gift of the kingdom to Dhruva, by the choice terms in the Rāshtrakūṭa records in describing Dhruva such as *na kṛitam chētō anyathā bhrātaram* and by the gift of orna-

ments of rubies and quantities of gold made by Dhruva to Gōvinda II. It is perhaps enough to say that the estrangement of feeling between Gōvinda and Dhruva is the result of construing the term *anyasaṁstham* as meaning 'a stranger' and the application of the term Vallabha to Gōvinda II. The use of the term *Jyēshṭhōllan̐ghana* has also something to do with it

If Dantidurga had the credit of bringing the Rāshtrakūṭa family to the forefront by inflicting a signal defeat on the army of the W. Chālukyas which had the unique reputation of having overcome all the great powers, and perhaps also sacrificed his life on the field of battle; and if kṛishṇa I had laid the family on a firm basis, firstly by pursuing the fight and killing the Chālukyan foe, thus, removing the nominee who was straying away from the path and was oppressing the subjects, and lastly with the aid of his heroic son Gōvinda, reduced the E. Chālukya, Pallava, W. Gaṅga and others; Dhruva, the *dhārmic* king, seizing the opportunity wisely afforded by his elder brother, proved to the world that the trust reposed on him was well deserved, by striking terror in the minds of all the neighbouring powers by his heroic deed of leading to the capital almost all the hostile kings, and lifted up the glory of the family, and laid well the foundation of its greatness at no distant date. This is what we have been able to gather so far, from the documentary evidences available to us.¹ We do not find any disputed succession, internecine war or revolution. Firmly established in righteousness, he gave the greatest satisfaction to the world of subjects by following the ancient precepts, being a fearless and active military leader, he won laurels in several fields with the aid of his powerful cavalry force, whose valour is acknowledged both in the Rāshtrakūṭa and Gaṅga records. Being sagacious and far-sighted, he employed his valiant sons and feudatories in the government of the conquered countries all round, to prevent insurrections, and raised one of them as *yuvarāja*, while yet he was alive, so that no internal strife might disfigure the history of the family, though

¹ Ind. Ant Vol. XI, p. 125 ff.

perhaps, modesty and regard for the feelings of the senior and the confidence of his strength to meet any future impediment that might come in the way of getting his throne, made the prince express satisfaction at the position he was holding directly under the sovereign, his father. Vatsa, Kōsala, Mālva, Gauḍa, Pallava, W. Gaṅga as well as the Eastern and western Chālukyas were made to yield submission to Dhruva. If one of the kings should be called the great, it will be hard to decide if Dhruva is entitled to it or his son.

Gōvinda III seems to have conducted several wars against the Pallavas of Kāñchi. The first of these took place some time before A.D. 804 when, being encamped at Rāmēśvaratīrtha, on his return from Kāñchi, he renewed a grant made by Kīrtivarman II. The Pallava opponent is here stated to be Dantiga *i. e.* Dantivarman (A. D. 761-812). The Pallavas did not quietly bear the Rāshtrakūṭa yoke. Gōvinda III's Radhanpur plates dated in A. D. 808, distinctly speak of a second invasion against the Pallavas. It is stated here :—

“ Having passed the rainy season, when the sky is densely covered with thick clouds, at Śrībhuvanāṃ, Gōvinda III went from there with his forces to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā, and staying there, strange to say, even by flinging it again, completely drew to himself the fortune of the Pallavas, though it was already in his hands”. This verse clearly refers to two distinct invasions by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III against the Pallavas, the earlier one of which, as pointed out already, took place prior to A. D. 804. The Nilgund inscription of Amōghavarsha I referring to Gōvinda III states that “ having fettered the people of Kēraḷa, Mālva and Gouḍa, and together with the Gūrjaras those who dwelt in the hill-fort of Chitrakūṭa, and the lords of Kāñchi, he became known as Kīrtinārāyaṇa.¹” From the use of the plural *Kāñchissān* in this verse, it looks as if that Gōvinda III conquered not only Dantivarman, as reported

1. Ep. Ind. Vol. VI. p. 205f. v 6.

in the British Museum and Radhanpur plates, dated in A. D. 804 and 808, but also his successor Tellārreṇḍa Nandivarman III (A. D. 812-844), who aided him in crowning Śivamāra Saigoṭṭa¹. Thus, Gōvinda III seems to have thrice defeated the Pallavas, the last being in about A. D. 812-3.

When speaking of the combined reigns of Gōvinda II and Dhruva his younger brother, we noticed the successful wars waged by Dhruva against the hostile kings of Kāñchi, Gaṅga, Vēṅgi, Mālava, and the highly irreconcilable Vallabha and the humiliation caused to them. Besides being defeated, one was put in fetters, another was forced to bow down before the conqueror, a third was driven into the desert, the fourth had his state umbrella of sovereignty destroyed and the fifth was deprived of his flags. All these proud and independent kings cannot be expected to have put up for any length of time with the insults that had been flung at them. It must be mainly as a result of these actions of Gōvinda II and Dhruva, that Gōvinda III had, almost at the commencement of his reign, to face the combined action of a confederacy of chiefs, who, it is believed, were apparently led by a person named Stambha.² Here we shall trace the events which brought the Rāshtrakūṭas in touch with the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas.

In the early part of this paper, we have shown how the various powers of South India stood at the time of the rise of the Rāshtrakūṭas and stated also the attitude of these powers among themselves. With one of these *i. e.* the Western Chālukyas, whom the Rāshtrakūṭas had overthrown and whose territory of seven and a half lakshas they had practically brought under subjection placing nominally a *vaṁśya* on the throne, the members of the Rāshtrakūṭa family had to be ever, after fighting. It will not be right to assume that the Western Chālukyas had

1. *Ibid.* Vol. V. p.

1. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 150; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 62 & 70; Vol. IX, p. 161; and *Bom. Gaz.* p. 395.

vanished after Dantidurga or his successor had defeated them. On the other hand, there are clear evidences to show that they continued to exist, and, finally getting the better of the adversary, recovered the territory which they had originally lost. These descendants of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi are referred to in the Rāshtrakūta records of successive generations as Vallabha, as having the boar for their emblem, as having the *pālidhvaja* banner, etc. Thus far, we have shown that every king of the Rāshtrakūta line had his share of fight with the Western Chālukyas. The next power with which the new conquerors had naturally to contend in their southern abode was the Pallava whose allies were the Bāṇas and Gaṅgas. Every one of the Rāshtrakūta kings from Dantidurga to Gōvinda III, claims to have over-thrown the Pallavas. It is significant that there is not a corresponding claim on the other side. Had success attended the Pallavas in any of their encounters with the Rāshtrakūtas, we could reasonably expect the fact to be mentioned in their eulogies. The omission can only indicate that the Pallavas fared ill. To visualise the contemporaneity of the Pallavas, Rāshtrakūta, W. Gaṅga and Pāṇḍya rulers we give a table below. From it, it will be seen that the latter part of the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (A. D. 696-761) synchronised with the reign of Dantidurga and the early years of Kṛishṇarāja I, and that the single long reign of the Pallava Dantivarman (A. D. 761-812) covered the rest of the reign of Kṛishṇarāja, the combined rule of Gōvinda II and his younger brother Dhruva Dhārāvarsha as well as the reign of Gōvinda III. It must have been with the Pallava Dantivarman that the four Rāshtrakūta kings mentioned above must have fought. Dantivarman must have been taken over by the victorious Dhruva to his capital. It has been shown above that Gōvinda III defeated Dantivarman at least twice: and that the privilege exercised by the early Pallava kings Simhavarman and Skandavarman viz. the crowning of the Western Gaṅga king, was now jointly exercised by Nandivarman III and Gōvinda III,

in fastening the fillet of royalty on 'Śivamāra II Śaigoṭṭa, who had not for long been captured and put in prison by Dhārāvarsha-Dhruva, about which we shall speak presently. Gōvinda III's reign ended soon after the last noticed event. The constant inroads into the Pallava dominion by the above named four Rāshtrakūṭa kings during the reign of the Pallava Dantivarman must, no doubt, have considerably weakened the latter's power, which, at the end of that king's rule, was over-run by the Pāṇḍyas. The Pāṇḍyas under the lead of Varaguṇa Mahārāja I, who ascended the throne in A. D. 811 pushed their way as far north as Araiśūr on the north bank of the Pennār river and made Nandivarman III (A. D. 812-844) acknowledge the overlordship of the Pāṇḍyas. The existence of the inscriptions of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja at Kumbakōṇam, Tiruviśālūr, Aḍuturai, Tillaisthānam and Lālgudi proves the reality of his claim and the last epigraph establishes his suzerainty over Nandivarman III the victor of Tellāru

We may now notice the conflict of the Rāshtrakūṭas with the Western Gaṅgas as it is one requiring some light. The conflict seems to have commenced as early as A. D. 786 when, according to the Talegaon plates, Kṛishṇa I had pitched his camp at Maṇṇe on the occasion of his victorious expedition against the Gaṅgas. The Western Gaṅga king at the time was Śrīpurusha. This was followed by other invasions in the subsequent reigns of Dhruva and Gōvinda III. We shall start with a statement made in the Maṇṇe grant. It tells us that the Western Gaṅga king " Śivamāra II made himself famous by his victories over the armies of the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Chālūkyas and the Haihayas, when they were encamped at a village named Mudukundūr and that he defeated the countless cavalry of Dhruva which had over-run the whole earth." This statement cannot be a mere boast but a simple record of fact, admitting in a way, the superiority of the enemy. From the admission it should be inferred that Dhruva had gained clear advantages over the Gaṅgas, and that the cause of action for Śivamāra's fight with the Rāshtrakūṭas arose

therefrom. The previous action, as elsewhere stated, was to the effect that the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa's son Dhruva-Dhāravarsha-Nirupama seized and imprisoned the Gaṅga king of the Chēra country and that his son Raṇāvalōka Kambaya was made the ruler of Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000. The Gaṅga king at the time must have been the same Śrīpurusha-Muttaraśa against whom Kṛishṇa I led an expedition : and the prince of the family of the Gaṅgas ' that was ruling over the Chēra country ' whom Dhruva is said to have detained in custody, must have been a provincial governor connected with the Gaṅga family and not Śivamāra himself. The Maṇṇe grant seems to admit the defeat inflicted by Dhruva on Śrīpurusha-Muttaraśa ; and for detaining in custody one of the Gaṅga princes, and for retrieving the losses previously sustained, Śivamāra, when he became king, fought with Dhruva and gained a victory. Subsequent to this, there must have been another conflict between the two kings in which Śivamāra should have met with a reverse. On this occasion, which may be placed about the end of the rule of Dhruva, Śivamāra must have been captured and put in the Rāshtrakūṭa prison, for it is distinctly stated that as soon as Gōvinda III came to the throne, he set Śivamāra at liberty. We have to state here the view taken of the statement of the Maṇṇe grant cited above. It is as follows :—

“Śivamāra II may very well have been entrusted with the command in some war between his father and Dhruva. And we may suppose that during the campaign, he (Saigoṭṭa) was eventually defeated, captured and imprisoned by Dhruva, and that on Muttaraśa's death, he was liberated by Gōvinda III, in order to succede to the leadership of the Gaṅgas, on which occasion, the Rāshtrakūṭa king would have very likely, crowned him,— as the spurious Maṇṇe grant asserts,— with some feudatory crown. The event may be placed about A. D. 805. The same passages in the Rāshtrakūṭa records tell us that, after no long time, Gōvinda III found it necessary to conquer the Gaṅga, who through excess of pride stood in opposition to him and to put him in

fetters, again in A. D. 810. And it was doubtless this second imprisonment of Śivamāra II that let in his younger brother Raṇavikrama to the Western Gaṅga succession”.

For chronological purposes, Śrīpurusha's reign is one of the land-marks in the history of the Western Gaṅgas. His initial year is, beyond question, fixed by the two charters, the Jawālī and Nāgamaṅgala plates, the former combining the 25th year of reign with Śaka 672 (A.D. 750) and the latter coupling the 50th year with Śaka 696 (A.D. 776). His latest year is furnished in the Hulkūr lithic record dated in Śaka 710 (A.D. 788) which must have been his 52nd year of reign. There is nothing to indicate at present, that his reign extended beyond A.D. 788. Thus, there is warrant for holding that when the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa I (A. D. 756-775) led an expedition against the Western Gaṅga territory and was encamped at the city of Maṇṇe in A. D. 768, the king of the latter country was Śrīpurusha (A. D. 725-788), and that he was also the king against whom Dhruva (A.D.775-794) directed his arms. Almost all the records of Dhruva's reign refer to his success over the Western Gaṅgas.

Śrīpurusha was succeeded by his eldest son Śivamāra II Śaigoṭṭa in circa A.D. 788, and we have noted his claim to have become famous by defeating the cavalry of Dhruva, which is expressly said to have overcome the whole earth. It seems certain that Dhruva met with some reverses at the end of his reign, though this loss was soon retrieved by himself by taking Śivamāra captive. On this occasion, it is likely that Śivamāra entrusted the kingdom to Vijayāditya his younger brother. We have the authority of inscriptions to say that Vijayāditya received the Gaṅga kingdom from his elder brother as a trust, as did Bharata from Rāma. After some time, when Gōvinda III became king, Śivamāra II was set at liberty and it is said that, after no long time Gōvinda III, found it necessary to reconquer the Gaṅga, who through excess of pride, stood in opposition to him, and to put him in fetters again. How Śivamāra II came to be released is not stated. If we are allowed to make a conjecture, it may be that it was at the

instance of the Pallava king Dantivarman, who, by reason of his being introduced in the Bāhūr plates as a lineal descendant of the Pallavas and with Western Gaṅga ancestry, might be said to have had a Western Gaṅga princess for his mother. The Vēlūrpalāyaṁ plates tell us that Dantivarman's mother was Rēvā, and the description given of her union with Nandivarman Pallavamala *viz.*

Tasy āmbū rāsēr iva vāhinīnām nāthasya nānā guṇa-rathna dhāmnah ।

Dhīrasya bhūbhṛit-Varalabdha-janmā Rēvēva Rēvā mahishī babhūva ॥

is plainly suggestive of it. Besides, Nandivarman III's mother Aggaḷanenmadi being a Kadam̐ba princess, and Nripatuṅga's mother Saṅkhā being a Rāshtrakūṭa, Gaṅga ancestry is precluded for these two Pallava kings, who are the only other kings that figure in the genealogical list given in the Bāhūr plates. That the Pallavas were the overlords of the Western Gaṅgas is known to us from numerous early records ; they were directly concerned also in their coronation. There is a fitness in the application of the term *vāhinīnām nātha* to the Pallavas who were hereditarily the overlords of the Gaṅgas.

The first incarceration of Śivamāra II could not have lasted long. Of Vijayāditya it is recorded that he refrained from enjoying the earth, knowing it to be his elder brothers' wife. On release by Gōvinda III, Śivamāra II should have appointed his eldest son Māraśīmha I as *yuvārāja* and it is not unlikely that he made his position stronger and perhaps, also defied the authority of the Rāshtrakūṭa viceroy in the Gaṅga territory. The fact that we have records issued by Māraśīmha I as *Yuvārāja* dated in the years A. D. 797 and 799, show that during the second incarceration of Śivamāra he did not entrust the government of the country to Vijayāditya as he had done in the first instance. The second release in circa A. D. 813 of Śivamāra II might have been made at the instance of Nandivarman. Gōvinda III died shortly after, though Śivamāra II continued to hold the reins of government for about

four years; and Māraśimha predeceased him. The new Rāshtrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha (A D. 813-878), it appears, was not favourably disposed towards Prithivipati the sole remaining son of Śivamāra II. Dissensions in the Western Gaṅga family began to appear, and there are grounds for believing that they were backed up by the Rāshtrakūṭas who were friendly towards the younger branch *i.e.* the line of Vijayāditya. The members of the senior line *i.e.* of Śivamāra were open enemies of the Rāshtrakūṭas. In preference to Prithivipati I, the legitimate claimant to the Gaṅga throne, Rājamalla I was made to occupy it. On some pretext, Prithivipati carried his arms against the Rāshtrakūṭas and defeated Amōghavarsha I. But finding it of no avail in remaining in the kingdom, he went over and joined the side of the Pallavas, who under Nandivarman III was previously instrumental in getting the final release and re-coronation of his father Śivamāra II, and became their feudatory. He served first under Nṛpatuṅga and then under his successor Aparājita.

Finally we have to say a word about certain statements made by Fleet, which antiquated as they are, are still being adopted by a few to suit their purpose. The statements appear in his article on the Śravaṇa Belgōla epitaph of Māraśimha II (Ep. Ind. Vol. V pages 151 gf.). At the time when he wrote, the kings represented in the Bāhūr plates *viz.* Dantivarman, Nadivarman and Nṛpatuṅga were believed to be of Western Gaṅga origin, owing to the mention of Vimala, Koṅgaṇika and others, as having come in the family of the eponymous Pallava of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and before Dantivarman. Dr. Hultzsch suggested it, and Dr. Fleet thought it safe to adopt this view. In the wake of Fleet others followed. And when the Maṇṇe grant stated of the Western Gaṅga Śivamāra II " that his forehead was adorned by a fillet (of royalty) placed there with their own hands, when they performed (his) anointment to the sovereignty, by the two ornaments of the Rāshtrakūṭa and Pallava lineages named Gōvindarāja and Nandivarman, who were (already) anointed on their foreheads". Dr. Fleet, who shared in the view of Dr. Hultzsch,

that Nandivarman of the Bāhūr plates was not a Pallava, was obliged to say (i) “ that the Pallava Nandivarman mentioned in the Maṇṇe plates must be Nandivarman Pallavamalla, son of Hiraṇyavamman ” and to add that “ he (Pallavamalla) cannot have had anything to do with Śivamāra II at so late a time as the date of his succession on the death of Muttaraśa, (ii) and it seems that, mixed up with a real act of Gōvinda III, towards the second Śivamāra, the Maṇṇe grant has preserved an anachronistic reminiscence of a real act of Pallavamalla Nandivarman towards the first Śivamāra viz. that on the downfall of the Western Chālukyas, he formally recognised Shivamāra and crowned him as the chief, more or less feudatory, of a powerful tribe on the borders of his own outlying province of Nolambavāḍi ”. Further, against the possibility of Nandivarman of the Maṇṇe grant being identified with Vijaya —Nandivikramavarman, son of Dantivarman, Fleet added in a note (f. n. 3 on p. 158 P, (iii) “ it does not at all seem probable, and if it were so, an anachronism in the other direction would be involved: for Nandivarman, the son of Dantivarman, cannot be placed as early as A.D. 797, which is the pretended date of the Maṇṇe grant: he cannot be placed before A.D. 804, which is the date that we have for Dantivarman ”. By the way, one more statement had also been made by Fleet and it is the following :— (iv) “ we may safely follow Dr. Hultzsch in his inference that the Rāshtrakūṭa princess Śaṅkhā wife of Nandivarman, was a daughter of Gōvinda’s son and successor Nṛpatuṅga Amōghavarsha I (A.D. 814/5-877/8) after whom her son must have been partly named ”.

As regards the identification of Gōvindarāja, Fleet had no doubts and he said “ he seems to be the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III, whose reign began about A.D. 783/4 and ended in A.D. 814/5 ” p. 158). In fact he owns the fastening of the fillet of royalty on Śivamāra II by Gōvindarāja as “ a real act of (the Rāshtrakūṭa) Gōvinda III ”. But he was of opinion, as already said, that mixed up with this, the Maṇṇe grant has

preserved an anachronistic reminiscence of a real act of Pallavamalla Nandivarman towards the first Śivamāra which he explains in his own way. There is no epigraphical support for what Dr. Fleet considered a real act of Nandivarman Pallavamalla towards the first Śivamāra.

His explanation is indeed ingenious, to say the least of it. What lay at the bottom of the committal of this mistake was, as plainly admitted by Fleet himself, the belief that the kings represented in the Bāhūr plates were not Pallavas, though the mythical ancestry and the bull crest on the seal, were distinctly Pallava. The discovery of the Velūrpālayam plates has dispelled all doubts in the matters and there is no room now for holding any of the kings,—Dantivarman, Nandivarman and Nripatuṅga,—to be other than Pallava. The anachronism that would be involved in identifying Nandivarman of the Maṇṇe grant with the Nandivarman of the Bāhūr plates, the son of Dantivarman, is not so serious as the supposition of the preservation and mixing up of an act of Pallavamalla towards the first Śivamāra which is unsupported by any epigraphical evidence and which involves an ingenious explanation. The former anachronism is not formidable to get over. Such of those that share in the view of Dr. Fleet and are still sceptic about the correctness of the historical information in the Maṇṇe grant may learn the truth from the remarks of Mr. Panchamukhi cited hereunder :—

“ Mārśimha has issued, as *yuvārāja*, the Nelamaṅgala and Ālūr copper plates dated respectively in A. D. 797 and A. D. 799. It may be remarked that the view that these two charters are spurious is no longer tenable, since the script employed in them is perfectly regular for the period and closely resembles the writing of the Maṇṇe plates of Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III. Further, the historical details that are mentioned in them are now corroborated by several genuine Gaṅga grants such as the Kudalur plates of Mārāśimha II and the apparently impossible reference in them to the crowning of Śivamāra II by Gōvinda III and Nandivarman III which took place in about A. D. 813 will have to be explained by

supposing that the grant actually made by Mārasīmha when his father was in prison was issued after the liberation and recoronation of Śivamāra in A. D. 813, incorporating the events that had happened in the interval ”.

Indeed this is the sane view to take in the matter and I am sure it will be endorsed by all those that deal with inscriptions, and do not go about indiscriminately borrowing leaves from others that know how long some grants take to be put in copper plates and finally issued,— the Larger Leiden plates had taken the last eight years of the reign of Rājarāja I and some years of the reign of Rājendra Chōla I,— that care to verify the originals and have the courage of their convictions to express their findings without fear or favour. There could be no doubt that Śivamāra II was a crowned monarch when he was first taken captive.

The reign of Gōvinda III (A. D. 794-814) covered the last five years of the Eastern Chālukya king Vishṇuvardhana IV and the first thirteen years of his successor Vijayāditya II. One of the Eastern Chālukya grants says that Vijayāditya II fought 108 battles with the armies of the Raṭṭas and Gaṅgas, for twelve years, day and night. and built 108 Siva temples called Narēndrēśvara after his surname.¹ In another grant he is called the destroyer of the party of the Southern Gaṅga and the builder of the temples of Narēndrēśvara.² A third is even more specific. It states that “ Vijayāditya II fought for twelve years with the generals of Vallabhendra and that having defeated his own younger brother Bhīma-Śālukki took possession of Vēṅgi-maṇḍala from him ”.³ From these statements it is clear that there was a rival claimant to the Eastern Chālukya throne on the death of Vishṇuvardhana IV in the person of Vijayāditya's younger

1. Gaṅga-Raṭṭa-balaihs sārddam dvādaśābdānn ahar niśam |
bhuj ārijita-balam khadga-sahāyō naya-vikramaih ||
Ashtottaram yudda-śataṁ yuddhvā S'ambhōr mahālayān |
tat-saṅkhyāy ākarōd viro Vijayāditya-bhūpatih || (S. I. I. Vol. I. p. 39)
2. A. R. on Ep. for 1914, para 6, p. 84 f.
3. *Ibid.* p. 84.

brother and that he was backed up by the generals of a certain Vallabha, and that Vijayāditya had to fight as many as 108 battles not only against the armies of the Raṭṭas and Southern Gaṅgas but also against the generals of Vallabha who were supporting the claim of his younger brother. The generals of Vallabhēndra should have been supporting Bhīma-Śālukki at the instance of the Raṭṭas and Southern Gaṅga king. The Rāshtrakūṭa king at the time of the demise of the Eastern Chālukya Viṣṇuvardhana IV *i. e.* in A. D. 799, was Gōvinda III and he must have nominated to the Eastern Chālukya throne Bhīma-Śālukki in preference to his elder brother Vijayāditya II, and to support his nominee he must have employed there some of his generals if by Vallabhēndra is meant the Rāshtrakūṭa king, and the generals of Vallabha whom his father had recently subdued. The forces of the Southern Gaṅga king, who, along with the armies of the Rāshtrakūṭas under Gōvinda III with whom the legitimate Vijayāditya II had to wage war to obtain his throne and kingdom, must be the W. Gaṅga Vijayāditya, the younger brother of Śivamāra II. Thus the policy adopted by Gōvinda III with regard to the subordinate W. Gaṅga and Eastern Chālukya powers was the same. The Rāshtrakūṭa records tell us that Gōvinda III sent a letter to the Vēṅgi king, who, as soon as the messenger half uttered the command, longing for his own comfort, steadily, like a servant, without ceasing, did toil to construct the outer wall round his capital city. Here one cannot miss to notice that Bhīma-Śālukki owed his position to the Rāshtrakūṭa and was bound to do his behests in order to win his favour and support. It is improbable that the proud victor of 108 battles would deign to cleanse the courtyard of the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign, whom he had worsted in numerous engagements. There are no indications that he ever reconciled himself with Gōvinda III.

Gōvinda III dying soon after Vijayāditya II was well established in Vēṅgi, the latter reigned over his dominion for nearly a quarter of a century without any troubles.

The period of rule covered by the reigns of Amōghavarsha and his descendants is not a bright one in the history of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Amōghavarsha was only a boy of tender years when his father died. His accession is well fixed up to be A. D. 814-5.¹ which falls not long after the latest known date² of Gōvinda III *i. e.* A. D. 813, December 4. Amōghavarsha seems to have reigned for at least 63 years.³

One of the most important changes effected during the reign of Amōghavarsha I was the shifting of the seat of government to the newly founded city of Malkhēḍ. A city with all the requirements to be a capital cannot rise quickly. It seems to have been planned in the reign of Gōvinda III, and completed in Amōghavarsha's time. Growth of empires from small nuclei had always necessitated the founding of second capitals in more central localities wherefrom it could be easy to watch the counter movements of the new enemies at whose cost the empire had grown. The Pallavas, Western Chālukyas and Western Gaṅgas who had been dealt severe blows by the predecessors of Gōvinda III having been in a state of constant revolt, and Gōvinda himself having had to make them acquiesce in the Rāshtrakūṭa overlordship, and further risings of a similar nature and coalition of the subdued powers being expected at any moment, might have prompted Gōvinda III to found the new city. Besides, the Rāshtrakūṭas had now to meet a more formidable foe in the person of the Eastern Chālukya Vijayāditya II (A.D. 799-843), the son of Vishṇuvardhana IV, who had suffered defeat at the hands of Gōvinda II in the reign of Kṛishṇa I and who was one among the hostile kings taken by Dhruva to the Rāshtrakūṭa country. All these must have strongly urged the necessity of having a city in a more central place and close to the Vēṅgi country, leave alone any ambition on his own part to acquire any fresh territory. The move in this direction must certainly have been taken to bring under complete subjection all the conquered powers and

1. K. 75 and 76.

2. K. 67.

3. K. 80.

to maintain the supremacy over them. Gōvinda III started the work but it was given effect to, only in the reign of his successor Amōghavarsha I.

When Amōghavarsha had come of age, he found that he had to raise the glory of his family which was sunk deep in the Chālukyan ocean. We shall see how this came about. The death in A.D. 814 of Gōvinda III leaving only a boy of tender years to succeed him,—which,—at that time required a very powerful ruler at the helm of government to keep under control proud and irreconcilable kings of different houses, who, as often as they were put down, rose up and showed their stubborn nature, and perfect unwillingness to bear the Rāshtrakūṭa yoke,—afforded a very nice opportunity, for subduing the enemies the like of which had never before occurred, to assert their independence. Nay, had it not been for the previous losses and defeats and the dwindling of the resources of the enemies, one among them could very easily have caused the disruption of the new houses of the Rāshtrakūṭas brought into eminence in the space of three or four generations. The boy emperor was the ward of Karkka the senior member of the Gujerat line of the Rāshtrakūṭas. We can easily conceive the high responsibilities that Karkka had to shoulder. Besides being the *de facto* ruler of the empire, he had to see that the boy was given proper education and training required of an emperor, that his own life as well as that of the prince under his charge was not endangered, and to meet or put down any risings of the subdued powers. Under these circumstances the regent could not follow in the footsteps of the deceased emperor Gōvinda III or his predecessors by undertaking any new expeditions or invasions.

Karkka's leaving Gujerat, vacating his throne for Gōvinda, and taking up the position of being the protector of the boy emperor, shows the oneness of feeling that existed between the members of the two branches of the Rāshtrakūṭa family that were holding Gujerat and Mālkhēḍ. Both were intent on

retaining the advantages gained, and shared in the weal and woe of either. It will be unnatural and preposterous, if a son, grandson or other relative of Karkka raised his little finger against him or the case he espoused and thereby exhibited ingratitude of the worst type. Unless there is clear evidence, to show that anyone proved a traitor, we cannot be justified in inferring anything that will cast a slur on a family exhibiting the noblest of feelings. The high terms in which Karkka is spoken of in the grant of Gōvinda strongly bear testimony to the cordial relationship of the members. We have here to note how the opportunity was availed of by the subjugated powers viz. the Western Gaṅgas, Eastern Chālukyas, Western Chālukyas, Pallavas and others. We have noted how the Western Gaṅga Śivamāra II was finally released from the Rāshtrakūṭa prison, reinstalled on the throne by Gōvinda III, just prior to the latter's demise and how he alienated himself from the Rāshtrakūṭa overlord: we have also noted how the undaunted Eastern Chālukyā Vijayāditya II defied the power of the Rāshtrakūṭas and Western Gaṅgas and wrested the Veṅgi kingdom from his mean younger brother who became a prey to the machinations of the enemy and put himself in war with his elder, backed up as he was by foreign arms, and how, by his indomitable strength he conducted a long war which forced the Rāshtrakūṭas to found a great city close to the Vēṅgi kingdom. He had thoroughly become independent of the Rāshtrakūṭa overlordship exercised during the days of his father Viṣṇuvardhana IV, and regained his kingdom ridding himself of his enemy. The almost independent position of the Pallava could be easily understood by Nandivarman taking an equal share with Gōvinda III in the second crowning of Śivamāra II. It remains now to say about the part played by the Vallabha by which term we have shown the members of the fallen house of the Western Chālukyas were called in the inscriptions of Dantidurga, Kṛishṇa and Dhruva. We have indicated above that the kings of this house had entrenched themselves in the confines of the dominion of the

Gujarat branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas. And though they were not prominent in the days of Gōvinda III, they had caused enough trouble to his father Dhruva and did not cease to exist. In the absence of Karkka from his home, acting as regent to the boy emperor, the hereditary Rāshtrakūṭa enemy Vallabha found again an opportunity to rush forth and fall upon his son Dhruva I Dhārāwarsha and killed him in the battlefield. It would even appear that the Vallabha had taken possession of Dhruva's kingdom for a time, for it is said that Dhruva's son Akālarsha Śubhatuṅga had to wrest his dominion from the enemy. Vallabha did not yield easily. He offered war against Akālarsha's son Dhruva II also. Thus, three generations of kings of the Gujarat branch had been ceaselessly worsted in battle by the forces of the Vallabha: these Gujarat kings were contemporaries of Amōghavarsha I. It is true that Amōghavarsha used the title Vallabha, as did also many others. But no tangible reasons could be seen in inscriptions to make us believe that he rose against his own Gujarat cousins under the guidance of one of whom he had been brought up. If he, a peace loving religious minded man, should take up arms against the Gujarat house, and show his inveteracy for three generations, there must be very extraordinary grounds. We see no such grounds.

We may say here what gave room for the conception that the reign of Amōghavarsha I was disturbed by rebellions and internecine wars. In a grant made in A.D. 826-7 by the Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭa chief Gōvinda the younger brother of Karkka, the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭas is taken up to Gōvinda III and no reference of any kind is made in it to Amōghavarsha I. The initial date of Amōghavarsha's reign being definitely known from his Sirūr and other inscriptions to have fallen in A.D. 814, the omission of his name in a grant falling in his reign and made by a Rāshtrakūṭa feudatory, was considered serious. Fleet's explanation of this was "that possibly, when the charter was issued, Gōvindarāja was in

rebellion against his sovereign". He followed up this remark and noted the fact that the charter gave to Gōvinda only the feudatory title of *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, which he knew was somewhat an apparent contradiction. Be that as it may, another satisfactory explanation is now made necessary. At the time Fleet wrote, it was not known Amōghavarsha I was a mere boy when his father died. His anointment as *yuvarāja* did not take place for aught we know. This and his long reign extending to 63 or 64 years, of course counted from the date of demise of his father, are in agreement with what is now known about his age in A. D. 814. Though the regnal year is counted from this date, Amōghavarsha's actual coronation must have taken place only when he came of age. All that the Kāvi grant of Gōvinda could tell us is that there was no overlord to be mentioned, Amōghavarsha I not having been crowned by that time: that Gōvinda held only a feudatory position is correctly indicated by the title he bore, and there was no overlord to be mentioned in his grant. We think there is no room for inferring that Gōvinda raised the standard of revolt against Amōghavarsha I. He is seen satisfied with his position of *Mahāsāmantādhipati*. It is still a question when Karkka passed away, and when exactly Amōghavarsha's actual coronation took place.

As the Baroda plates, dated A. D. 834-5, of Dhruva I, and the Bagūmra grant of Dhruva II, dated in A. D. 866-7, mention Amōghavarsha as sovereign, he must have assumed regal powers sometime before the first mentioned date. From the omission in these plates of the name of Gōvinda, it had been inferred that Gōvinda was an usurper and a rebel. If it is remembered that these plates belong to the kings of Karkka's line, the omission in them of Gōvinda, a member of the collateral branch, is quite natural. He owed his position to Karkka, who in the interest of both the branches, set up Gōvinda in his place, and went to afford protection to Amōghavarsha. Dhruva might not have come of age at the time. I am unable to find motives for

rebellion of any kind so far as Gōvinda, Dhruva, Akālarsha Subhatunga and Dhruva II are concerned, and there is no attempt on the part of the Gujerat Rāshtrakūṭas to subvert Karkka or Amōghavarsha I: on the other hand they were keenly interested in the safety of the Mālkhed empire.

The two plates further state that Karkka "vanquished the tributary Rāshtrakūṭas, who, after they had voluntarily promised obedience, dared to rebel with a powerful army; and he speedily placed Amōghavarsha on his throne. Can it not be said that the voluntary promise only shows the loyalty of the subjects and chiefs to the throne and that it must have naturally come when Gōvinda III passed away suddenly leaving an un-anointed son of tender years to succeed him: And Karkka's presence might not have been liked by the proud chieftains of the State, he being only a feudatory. At any rate the wording does not warrant the inference that there was any rebellion against the boy emperor.

When Amōghavarsha actually assumed regal powers, he found to his dismay that the empire reared up by his ancestors had disintegrated, the Western Gaṅgas and the Eastern Chālukyas having become almost independent, and the army of the Vallabha trying its best in the same direction. He at once directed his general Baṅkēya to reduce to subjection the Western Gaṅga. While this was so, the ceaseless fighting that was going on between Vallabha and the kings of the Gujerat branch assumed large proportions and Amōghavarsha I who was erstwhile a ward under one of the kings of the same branch, and who had the greatest interest in the Gujerat house could not remain a mere spectator.

It is almost certain that this war which was being waged nearer home must have been a menace to his own dominion of Mālkhed. Of this fact he could not be unaware. When he found that his Gujerat cousins were not a match for the Vallabha, he

must have called in for help his powerful and trusted general Baṅkēya from his command in Gaṅgavāḍi before the work there, could be brought to a successful issue.

Amōghavarsha I is said to have gained a victory over the king of Vēṅgi at a place called Viṅgavalli. As is natural, this event does not find mention in the Eastern Chālukya grants and it is likely, though not confirmed, that this event took place in the brief reign of Kali Vishṇuvardhana in about A.D. 843-4. Perhaps the Eastern Chālukya opponent died on the field of battle. And this may be the reason for the revival of the inveterate enmity between Gaṅga Vijayāditya III and the Rāshtrakūṭas as well as their allies the Western Gaṅgas, Nolambas etc.

The Pallava contemporaries of this Rāshtrakūṭa king were Nandivarman III, his son Nṛpatuṅga, and the latter's successor Aparājita. It has been noted above that the Western Gaṅga Śivamāra was helped to the throne by Nandivarman III and Gōvinda III. There was at the time divided interest in the Western Gaṅga family which seems to have been brought about by the instrumentality of the Rāshtrakūṭas who were their overlords. Raṇavikrama Vijayāditya, a member of the younger branch having secured the kingdom of Gaṅgavāḍi, Śivamāra's descendants were forced to leave their home and they went over to the Pallava territory and sought employment under its ruler. Thus, we find Prithivīpati I figuring as a subordinate both of: Nṛpatuṅga and Aparājita. He had once taken up arms against the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler Amōghavarsha I and defeated him in a field of battle. We know that a certain Chōlamahārāja Kumārāṅkuśa was in the service of the Pallava king Nandivarman III. Thus, at the time the Pāṇḍya power reached its zenith and that of the Rāshtrakūṭas was in the lowest ebb, there were under the service of the Pallava, a prince of the Western Gaṅgas of Talakkād and a member of the ancient stock of the Chōlas. If we have before us the chief events that are said to have taken place, it will be quite

easy to follow the history of South India, from the date of Varaguṇa's dash against the Pallava country. The Pāṇḍya king Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha who led the Pāṇḍyan forces immediately after Varaguṇa I, conquered successively the Kēraḷa, Siṃhaḷa, Pallava and the Vallabha and brought the whole of South India under his rule :—

Māyāpāṇḍyam Kēraḷam Siṃhaḷēndram jītvā saṃkhyē
 Pallavam Vallabham cha |
 Ēka-chhatrām mēdinim-ēka- viraḥ prārakshad-yaḥ
 prēmapātram prajānām ||

The Tamil portion treating of his military exploits, lets us know that this king gained victories at Kuṇṇar, Siṅhaḷam Viḷiṇam; and that when the Gaṅga, Pallava, Chōḷa, Kalinga and Magadha came forth and opposed him in the battlefield at Kumbakhōṇam he caused them to be bathed in a big river of blood. These events happened in the period A.D. 832-862, the last date marking the end of his reign. The reigning Rāshṭrakūṭa king of Mālkhed at the time was Amōghavarsha I. It is significant that the Raṭṭa is conspicuous by his absence. The Pallavas soon retrieved their loss for it is said in the Bāhūr plates that by the efforts of Nṛipatuṅga, the very army which had been previously overpowered by the Pāṇḍya,— no doubt referring to the victory obtained by Śrīmāra,— had been made to conquer the Pāṇḍya. And quite in conformity with this statement, we have a stone inscription in which the reversed position of the Pāṇḍya and Pallava is clearly seen by Varaguṇa II, the son of Śrīmāra, figuring as subordinate of Nṛipatuṅga. The engagement between the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas in this instance is stated to have taken place on the banks of the Arichit by which is no doubt, meant the river Ariśilāru, a branch from the Kāvēri which flows near Pāpanāśam in the Tanjore district. It must be about this time that the revived Chōḷa line taking possession of Tanjore established itself there. There is no doubt that at first the Chōḷas

must have been friendly towards their erstwhile overlords the Pallavas. The establishment of the Chōla with the capital at Tanjore is an evident check on any further aggressions of the Pāṇḍyas. Varaguṇa II did not continue to bear the Pallava yoke. Soon after the accession of Nṛpatuṅga's successor, Aparājita, he seems to have risen up in arms against the Pallava and advanced as far as Tiruppurambiyam in the Tanjore district where the Pallava king assisted by the Western Gaṅga ally Pṛithivīpati I, who was determined to secure victory to his overlord, attacked him and secured complete success. It was only marred by the death of Pṛithivīpati in the battlefield. The battle of Śrīpurambiyam may be placed somewhere about the last quarter of the ninth century A. D. perhaps just after the end of the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I and after the accession of his son and successor Kṛishṇarāja II. Though the several invasions of the Pāṇḍyas on the territory of the Pallavas directly affected the kings of the latter country and made them resist the tide of the former in order to save themselves from becoming a prey to the Pāṇḍyas, the Rāshtrakūṭas who had been similarly making endeavours to subdue the surrounding powers could not have remained as passive onlookers assuming a neutral attitude, for if the Pallavas had succumbed, the Pāṇḍyas would have become a menace to their own kingdom in the south. They had already a fore-taste of the rising of some of the subdued powers.

In the first half of the ninth century A. D., events were marching with rapid strides for the determination of the suzerainty of the south. Just then the passing away of Gōvinda III, leaving the ship of State to drift in the boisterous ocean without a proper guiding hand, gave a set-back to the progress of the Rāshtrakūṭas in that direction. Karkka and Baṅkēya, able in their own way, could not save the empire from being foundered and disintegrated. As narrated above, the Rāshtrakūṭa hold on the Eastern Chālukyas, Western Gaṅgas, Pallavaṣ and the Western Chālukya

successors, was practically lost before Amōghavarsha I could take up the command of the empire. A lover of peace by nature, with a yearning for literary pursuits and given to practice of religious austerities, Amōghavarsha was found to be a square man in a round hole. He was quite unfit for the task that lay before him. He could not stem the rushing tide. The policy of the Rāshtrakūṭas of favouring the younger and weaker members of the families of kings overcome by them as against the older and legitimate ones tried in the case of the Western Gaṅgas, Eastern Chālukyas and perhaps also the Western Chālukyas, in order to secure subordination, had been a total failure: nay it was even fatal. It had only been useful in creating ephemeral dissensions which the reigning powerful sovereigns tided over, sometimes with ease and sometimes with a little difficulty. Even the adoption of the policy of reconciliation by means of marriage alliances was of no avail. One Śīlamahādēvī was taken from and another Śīlamahādēvī was given to the Eastern Chālukyas. Nandivarman III had for his queen a Rāshtrakūṭa princess by name Śaṅkhā and had by her a son called Nṛipatuṅga the same name that was also borne by Amōghavarsha I. To judge merely by the name there is a seeming likelihood of considering the Pallava Nṛipatuṅga as the grandson of Rāshtrakūṭa Amōghavarsha I. But it may be noted that it is impossible that Śaṅkhā could have been the daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I for we are informed that this king was only six years old or a few years more in A.D. 814 and as such could not have had a grandson by his daughter who could be aged enough to become a ruler in A.D. 844. Nṛipatuṅga's date of accession is a fixed point in later Pallava chronology. It cannot be taken earlier than A. D. 844 for the reason that Varaguṇa Mahārāja II cannot figure as a subordinate in a record of the 18th year, as he actually does, and it cannot be later than that date for the reason that he and his successor Aparājita had reigned for 44 years before Toṇḍaināḍu passed into the hands of the Chōla Āditya I in A. D. 888. It is,

therefore, certain, that Śaṅkhā must have been a daughter of some other earlier member of the Rāshtrakūṭa line. Knowing as we do that Śaṅkhā was a Rāshtrakūṭa princess, the name Nṛpatuṅga,—bearing the distinct impress of the Rāshtrakūṭa-*anvaya* like Sāhasatuṅga, Jagattuṅga etc.,—given to Pallava in preference to a Pallava name, is suggestive of the esteem with which Nandivarman III should have looked upon the Rāshtrakūṭa connection and of his friendly attitude towards that family. Another important move made by the Rāshtrakūṭas was, as noted already, the establishment of their capital at Mānykhēṭa which could have afforded better opportunities for watching the progress of the enemy states, besides being, a central place for the base of their military operations. Conjointly with the Pallavas, the Rāshtrakūṭas established a sort of political overlordship over the Western Gaṅgas and they also appear to have had direct and closer touch with the administration of the province of Gaṅgavāḍi. It is not unlikely that the Rāshtrakūṭas had a similar hand in the administration of the Pallava kingdom. The exact relationship of Kāṁpavarman with either the Pallavas or Rāshtrakūṭas remains yet to be known. At any rate the name is not a familiar one among the Pallavas.

Looked at from any point of view, the reign of Amōghavarsha I was not a glorious one in that it had failed to lift up the family from its fallen depth. Two or three years before his death Amōghavarsha seems to have entrusted the government to his son Kṛishṇa II.

There is evidence to the fact that Kṛishṇa II was in charge of the government of his country in the last days of his father. We have a record of Śaka 797 (A.D. 875) issued by him. There is also evidence that from the day of his father's demise in A. D. 878, he became an independent ruler. The earliest known record of his found at Hirebidiri in the Dharwar district is dated in A. D. 878. He had chiefly to contend in the South with the

Western Gaṅgas and Nalambas, and the Eastern Chālukyas. His Eastern Chālukya contemporaries were Vijayāditya III for the first ten years and the latter's successor Chālukya-Bhīma I for the rest of the period. Vijayāditya III was one of the most powerful sovereigns of his house and it is reported of him that he, at the request of the Raṭṭa, conquered the unequalled Gaṅgas, killed the Nalamba chief Maṅgi in battle, put to fright Kṛishṇavallabha who was allied with or supported by Saṅkila. These things seem to have occurred in the reign of Amoghavarsha I in whose days the Vallabha was attacking the Rāshtrakūṭas of both the houses and we have also noted how the Gaṅgas had practically become independent and thrown off the Rāshtrakūṭa yoke. There was every reason for the Rāshtrakūṭas to seek the aid of the Eastern Chālukyas, to put down the matchless Gaṅga and the fierce Vallabha and their allies Maṅgi and Saṅkila. Vijayāditya III had an ancient grudge against the Vallabha for it was the latter's forces that were aiding Bhīma-Saṅkila against Vijayāditya II. Here one should not fail to note that Vijayāditya III, fighting at the request of the Raṭṭa, could not have among the enemies a prince of the Rāshtrakūṭa line. Therefore, that Kṛishṇa, whom Vijayāditya III overcame, must have been of a different house and also one of the open enemies of the Rāshtrakūṭas. The Kaluchumbarru grant tells us that there was a Vallabha king named Kṛishṇa and it is very likely that this was the person against whom Vijayāditya III fought a few years ago. Vallabha being a hereditary foe of the Rāshtrakūṭas, there is reason to believe that Vijayāditya III, fighting on behalf of the Rāshtrakūṭas should include him among the enemies. It seems improbable that the Vallabhendra or Kṛishṇavallabha could be the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II.

Now, of Kṛishṇavallabha's friend and helpmate, it is said that he was called Gaṇḍa Sankila and that he was the lord of the Vaidumbas (A.R. on Ep. for 1914, p. 85; and the same for 1923, part II, para 20). This statement, if it has been correctly

made out, would invalidate the identity of Sankila with Sankara-gaṇa, the brother-in-law of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II. Even if he be the brother-in-law of the Rāshtrakūṭa king, there is no objection to his being a friend of Kṛishṇavallabha. Moreover from the passage which describes the various acts done by Vijayāditya III viz. (i) *Noḷamba Rāshtrapatim Maṅgim hatvā*, (ii) *Dahalādi-śam Gaṅgānāsrita Gaṅgākūṭasikharāt nirjitya*, and (iii) *Sankilam ugra-Vallabhayutam bhāyayitva*, we do not find anything to connect Sankila with Dāhala. All that is said is that the lord of Dāhala was one among the chiefs overcome by Vijayāditya III. Another reference informs us that Vijayāditya burnt Chakrakūṭa, that he put to fright Sankila who was in company with Kṛishṇa and who had gone to Kiraṇapura, and that he defeated Vallabhendra. There is not much in these references that would speak of Kṛishṇa and say definitely that he was a Rāshtrakūṭa. On the other hand, they say plainly that he was a Vallabha king. At any rate, the question may well await elucidation from future researches.

After the demise of Vijayāditya III in A.D. 888, Kṛishṇa, like his predecessors, made a serious attempt to bring Vēṅgiṃaṇḍala under his subjection. He is reported to have surrounded it with his forces, perhaps to install on the Eastern Chāḷukya throne a younger member of the family—Yuddhamalla—and to enforce the people to prefer him to the legitimate Vikramāditya, who had, during the life-time of Vijayāditya III, been anointed a *yuvārāja*. History records that the Vēṅgi country was, at the time, over-run by the army of the Raṭṭas i. e. Rāshtrakūṭas and of the agnates of the last late Eastern Chāḷukya king, just as by dense darkness after sunset (referring to the passing away of Vijayāditya III) (*tad-anu-savitary-astāṅgatē timira paṭalēn-ēva Raṭṭa-dāyada balēna abhivyāptam Vēṅgiṃaṇḍalam*). But the attempt of the Rāshtrakūṭa was not successful, for Chāḷukya-Bhima I the son of Vikramāditya, finally obtained the kingdom.¹

1. Jitvā samyati Kṛishṇa-Vallabha- mahādaṇḍam sa-dāyādikam Bhīmō bhūpatir anvabhūṣita bhuvanam.

In this war also, the Vallabha king contributed his own might to the troubles of the Eastern Chālukyas. It is said that the Vallabha king assisted by Karnāṭa and Lāṭa, fought against Bhīma I¹: the son of this Bhīma called Iramartigaṇḍa, a prince of charming appearance and valour like Abhimanyu, learned and powerful, died after fighting bravely on the battle-fields of Niravadyapura (Niḍadavōlu and Peruvaṅgūr-grāma, killing in the latter place from the back of his elephant the general of the Vallabha king, Daṇḍēna Guṇḍaya.²

The records of Indra III are dated in the Śaka years 836, 837 and 838 (A. D. 914, 915 and 916). They are the Bagumra plates and the stone inscriptions of Hiremagnūr. During his reign the governorship of Banavāsi was under Dōra and Baṅkēya. The Mahāsāmanta Bijja was ruling Kogali 500, and Masiyavāḍi 140. There was fight with Aṇṇiga. He was practically succeeded by Gōvinda IV who is reported to have quietly (*i. e.* without bloodshed) set aside his brother Amōghavarsha II and usurped the throne. The records of Gōvinda IV range from Śaka 840 (Daṇḍapūr) to Śaka 855 (Kavajgere inscription and Sangli plates). Thus, they range in date from A. D. 918 to 933. Baṅkēya continued to have the rule of Banavāsi in Śaka 850. The plates record that the rivers Gaṅga and Yamunā were doing service at his palace, which means that he conquered and reduced to subjection the Chālukyas who had these emblems. We have already referred to a verse which states that when he started on a tour of conquest the *Pālidhvaja*, in the shape of the hands of a woman (Earth) released from the possession of an evil lord *Kunāṭha*) danced with joy and paid regard to Gōvinda. There was trouble again with the Eastern Chālukya-Bhīma II (A.D. 934-45) who is reported to have defeated an army sent by Gōvinda IV (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 249). The Maśūlipatam plates of Amma II record that Chālukya-Bhīma II expelled the dense darkness which was the

1. A.R. on S. I. Ep. for 1914, para 6, p. 84 f.

2. Ibid. p.81.

army of the Rāshtrakūṭas. (A. R. for 1909, para 60). Gōvinda IV is said to have given himself to evil ways, ruined his constitution, weakened the government and thus, met with destruction. Thus, though the commencement of the reign of Gōvinda IV was promising for the rise of the Rāshtrakūṭas, by some successes scored by him, his valour was soon consumed by his extreme licentiousness and he became physically incapacitated and was beaten by his enemies. The State was all but ruined. But fortunately it was saved by the prevalence of wise counsel, which made the aged Amōghavarsha III assume the reigns of government. The Deoli plates say of Amōghavarsha III that he ascended the throne to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Raṭṭas. His reign is important for the marriage alliance that was contracted between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Western Gaṅgas. Amōghavarsha's daughter Rēvakanimmaḍi was married to Bhūtuga II and this alliance could knit the two families more closely. Kṛishṇa III ascended the throne in A. D. 940 and in his earliest record (Deoli grant), he is stated to have deposed Rāchamalla and put in his place Bhūtuga II. Accordingly, the latter figures as a Rāshtrakūṭa feudatory in records dated in Śaka years corresponding to A. D. 942 (Rōṇ) 946 (Kurtkōṭi) and 949-50 (Naregal and Ātakūr). Kṛishṇa III came in conflict with the Chōḷas. We must say a few words as to how this came about.

The powerful Eastern Chāḷukya Vijayāditya III died in A. D. 888. In the Maśūlipatam collector's office plates, it is reported that, besides burning the three cities Kirāṇapura, Achalapura and Nellūrapura, he took by force the gold of the Gaṅga kings of Kalinga, the elephants of the kings of Kōśala and the gold of the Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas in order that they may distribute them in charity. If this is not a mere boast, it would

At the gates of the palace of Vijayāditya III, there were carved the emblems Ganga, Yamunā, the Moon, the Sun and the Halikēṭana (tritiya Vijayāditya-dvāri-pratishṭāpita-Gaṅgā-Yamunā-Chandra Āditya-Halikēṭana)

appear that he followed up his victory over others by directing his arms to subdue the Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas also. The opportunity for his military operations might have been occasioned when he, at the request of Amōghavarsha conducted an expedition against the Western Gaṅgas. The same year *i. e.* A. D. 888 also saw the passing away of another great sovereign of South India *i. e.* the Pallava Aparājita. This king was overpowered by the Chōḷa Āditya I in battle. What made the Chōḷas, who, sometime before, had been the chief confidant of the Pallava to take up arms against his overlord remains a mystery. After the Pallava Aparājita vanished from the scene, the Western Gaṅgas became the feudatories of the Chōḷa victor and his successors. And the Rāshtrakūṭas had necessarily to come in conflict with the newly risen power of the Chōḷas who espoused the cause of the members of the Śivamāra line. Prithivīpati I being dead, his descendant Prithivīpati II, the son of Māraśimha II, became a feudatory of Āditya I in whose reign he had made a grant at Takkōlam. During the time of Kṛishṇa II's successors the Rāshtrakūṭas were in a dormant state until Kṛishṇa III came to assume the reigns of government. In this period the Chōḷas were all powerful in Southern India and Parāntaka I, son of Āditya I, with indomitable strength pushed further the conquest of his father and widened his empire. What is important for us here is that he defeated the Bāṇas and gave their kingdom to Prithivīpati II. This happened before A. D. 923, which is the date of the Udayēndiram plates. No hand was raised against him by the Rāshtrakūṭa successors of Kṛishṇa I. But Kṛishṇa III, as soon as he came to the throne, saw clearly the situation, invaded the Chōḷa territory successfully, supported as he was by his powerful brother-in-law Bhūtuga II, and occupied a portion of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. In his first attempt, he does not seem to have fared well. The Kanyākumāri inscription tells us that Parāntaka I conquered in battle the unconquered Kṛishṇarāja and was thence known as Vira-Chōḷa :—

Yaj-jigāya Vijayōpamadyutiḥ Kṛishṇarājām ajitam narādhipaiḥ
 Bhūri-Vikrama-vivarddhita-dyutiḥ Vira Chōla ititēna kīrtyatē ||
 v. 58, p. 143 of T. A. S. Vol. III.

The Proddaṭūru inscription probably refers to this in verse 21. This encounter between Parāntaka I and Kṛishṇa III must have happened before A. D. 944. The fact recorded in the Kanyākumārī inscription has not only dispelled the illusion caused by a mistaken statement made in the Larger Leiden plates, but has confirmed the inference drawn from the inscriptions of Kṛishṇa III found in the Tamil country, which are dated from the 5th year of his reign to the 28th *i.e.* from A.D. 944 to A.D. 967. The statement made in the Leiden plates was that after Parāntaka passed away, his son Rājāditya became the lord of the earth and that the latter died in battle fighting with Kṛishṇarāja. This had naturally given rise to the belief that the reign of Parāntaka I must have ended by A.D. 947 which is the date of the Ātakūr inscription mentioning the death of Rājāditya. Parāntaka's date of accession having been well fixed to be A.D. 907, the few inscriptions dated in years later than the 40th year of reign and one in particular which was dated in the 46th year began to be discredited. But recently an inscription of the 48th year of reign of Parāntaka I, expressed both in words and figures, was found, proving clearly that he reigned till A.D. 954-: that Rājāditya, who died in A.D. 947, could not have succeeded him and that the clash with the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III did certainly happen in the reign of Parāntaka I. A single attempt was made by the Chōlas to recover Tanḍaimaṇḍalam and it did cost the life of prince Rājāditya. Kṛishṇa III had a state entry into the conquered country of Tanḍaimaṇḍalam in A.D. 947 and this is reported in the Chōlapuram record. The Karhad plates dated 9th March 959 A.D. let us know that Kṛishṇa III was encamped with his victorious army at Mēlpaḍī and established his followers in the southern provinces, took possession of the estates of the provincial chiefs and built temples to Kālapriya,

Gaṇḍamārtāṇḍa, Kṛiṣṇeśvara etc. A Bāgali inscription of Kṛiṣṇa III tells us that he was ruling from Mēlpāṭi in A.D. 956 which is three years before the date of the Karhad plates. That Kṛiṣṇa III retained possession of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam till his death is amply proved by the existence of numerous inscriptions of his found in the Tamil country.

During the days of Kṛiṣṇa III the Western Chālukyas, who had by constant fighting with the successive Rāshtrakūṭa kings Dantidurga, Kṛiṣṇa I, Gōvinda II, Dhruva I, the three successive feudatory kings of the Gujerat branch of Rāshtrakūṭas who were contemporaries of Āmōghavarsha I, and Gōvinda IV, having become exhausted, quietly bore the Rāshtrakūṭa yoke and were content to hold subordinate position under Kṛiṣṇa III. One of the inscriptions of Kṛiṣṇa III discovered at Bāgali in the Bellary district ¹, dated in Śaka 868, Krōdhi (A. D. 944-5) mentions the Mahāśāmanta Kaṭyēra of the Chālukya family and stated that he was ruling over Kōgali 500, and Māśiyavāḍi 140. Another record of the king found at Kārjōl in the Bijapur district ², dated in Śaka 879, Piṅgala, Āśvayuja, su 5, Thursday (A.D. 956, September 11), registers a grant of land made to the Saṁbayyanakere (tank), while Tailapayya, a subordinate of the king was governing the *nāḍu*. Though the family to which Tailapayya belonged is not given in the record, we may take it that he was a western Chālukya, judging from his name. At the time of this record, Kṛiṣṇa III is stated to have been ruling at Mēlpāṭi. A third record of the same king discovered at Bāgali ³ dated in Śaka 878, Naḷa (A. D. 956 December 23), refers to a grant made by a chief named Chālukyanārāyaṇa Dōrappayya. And the last of all is a record from Narśalgi of the Bijapur district ⁴. It is dated in Śaka 886, Raktākshi etc., (A. D.

1. No. 74 of M.E.C. for 1904 and 64 of S. I. I. Vol. IX. Part I.

2. No. 178 of Bk. No. 1933-4.

3. No. 100 of M.E.C. for 1904 and No. 66 of S.I.I. Vol. IX. Part. I.

4. No. 113 of Bk. C. for 1929-30 and No. 40 of S. I. I. Vol. XI. Part. I.

965, March 6), and states that the *Mahās'āmantādhipati* Āhavamalla Tailaparaśa entitled Chālukyarāma, of Śatyāśraya family was a subordinate of Akālavarsha (i. e. Kṛishṇa III). The feudatory is stated to have been governing Tarḍḍavāḍi 1000, as *anunḡa jīvita*. These records show that the position of the Western Chālukyas had dwindled down to that of the commanders of armies and that they were enjoying the remuneration fixed therefor in the shape of *Jivita*. We are reminded here of a similar subordinate position held by Chōlamahārāja Kumārāṅkuśa under the Pallava Nandivarman III, of Naraśanāyaka under the Vijayanagara emperor of his day, as well as of the later Pallava Peruṅjiṅga under the Chōla Rājarāja III, which position, when the ruling kings became weak or suffered reverses at the hand of other kings, gave excellent opportunities to assert independence. The Western Chālukya Mahāsāmantādhipati Āhavamalla Tailaparaśa had not long to wait for such an opportunity. When Kṛishṇa III passed away and was succeeded by Khoṭṭiga, the Paramāra Śiyaka Harsha inflicted a severe defeat on the Rāshtrakūṭas. Neither Khoṭṭiga nor his weaker successor Karkka was able to retrieve the loss or improve the position. Taila killed Muṇja, and easily overthrew the Rāshtrakūṭa in battle, destroyed the two pillars of victory set up in the capital, and assuming to himself the ancient regal dignity reigned for 24 years.

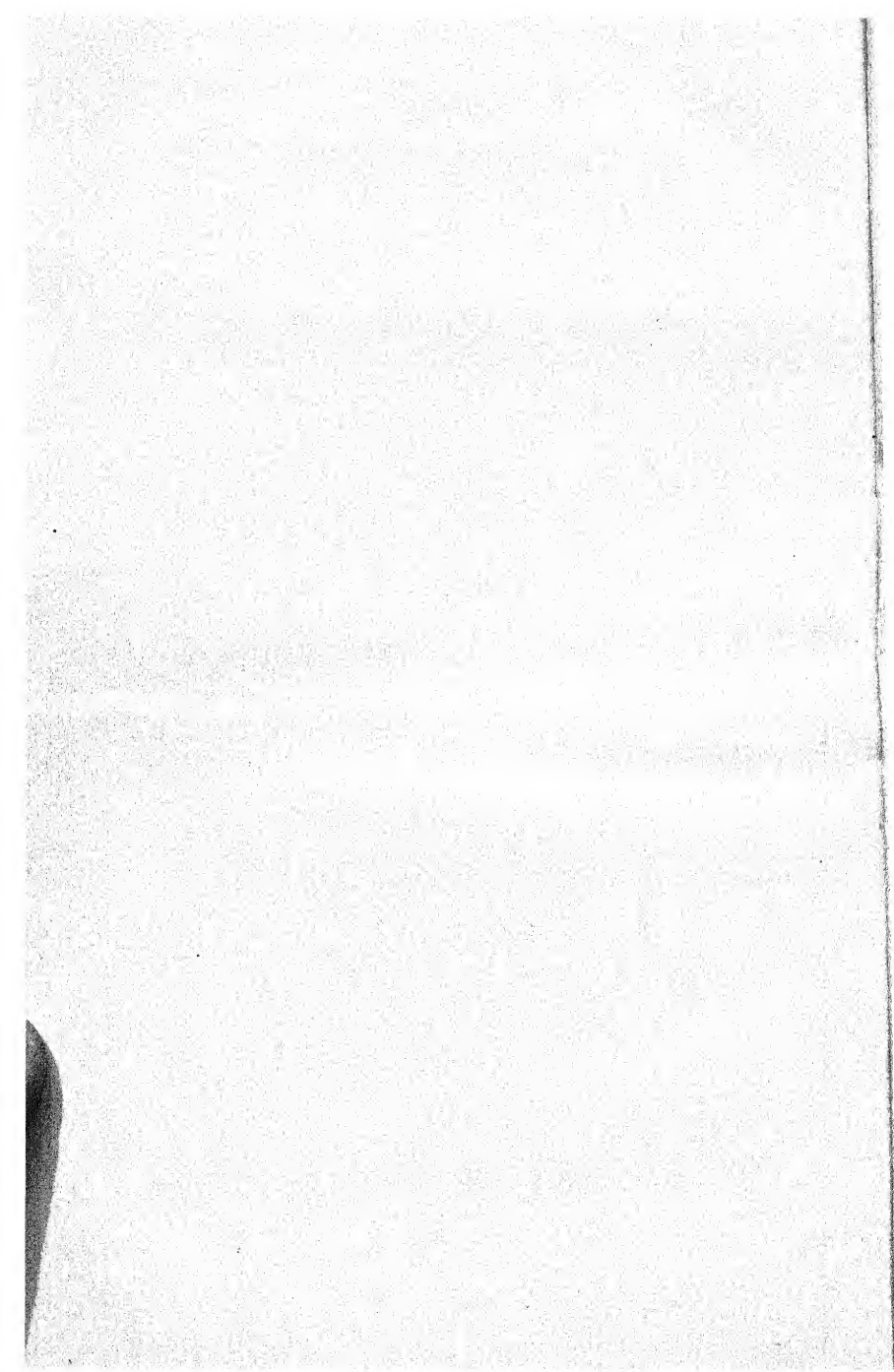
This is the history of the hard and persistent struggle put up by the various members of the Śatyāśraya family from the days of Kirtivarman II, all through the period of existence of the Rāshtrakūṭas since the time of Dantidurga, as we are able to gather from the records of their enemies. From these very records we could also gather that the last member of the Chālukya family, by virtue of his position as Mahāsāmantādhipati, had the power and means to contribute to the final triumph and accomplishment of the Western Chālukya object viz. the recovery of the lost kingdom. In the several campaigns of

Kṛishṇa III, this scion of the ancient Śatyāśraya stock had ample opportunities of displaying his valour and proving his merit, which must have earned for him the meaningful title of Āhavamalla. It is significant that he had this title even before he assumed regal powers that soon awaited him. It is noteworthy that he is styled in the record of Kṛishṇa III a *Śatyāśraya* which proves that he did not foist it to his name when he became a ruler. Kṛishṇa's victories, glorious as they were, left to his successors a legacy of more enemies. The last two kings of the Rāshtrakūṭa line were not able to handle the situation, as well, as Kṛishṇa III. It is but natural that they should have had to depend on their powerful general. From the ancestral account furnished in several of the grants of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, it is gathered that, besides Taila II, his father and grandfather had contracted marriage relationship with the reigning kings of different houses. We might well agree with Fleet that the father-in-law of Taila's grandfather was the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II. Bonthādēvī, the mother of Taila II, was the daughter of the Chēdi king Lakshmaṇa. Taila II himself had married Jakkavve, a Rāshtrakūṭa princess. Taila's position as the chief *Sāmanta*, his command of the army, the connection of himself and his ancestors with the ruling families, added to his own proved abilities, must no doubt have secured for him a well deserved esteem; and there is nothing to be wondered at if he succeeded in his endeavour in which many had failed before him.

We have made an attempt in these lectures to trace the doings of the members of the western Chālukya line since the day they were overthrown by Dantidurga— with of course, a few missing links—till they regained their position. The names of the members are missing except for one Rāhappa. Even if they had been preserved, it is certain that they will not be found in the ancestry of Taila, who finally subverted the Rāshtrakūṭas and got back the Western Chālukya kingdom, unless his pedigree

gave the members of all the collateral branches. The object of a pedigree is to trace the line of descent of a king from the earliest celebrated ancestor. There is no doubt that connected with the same early ancestor, there might have been numerous others during the space of two and a half centuries and it is vain to expect any of them in the genealogy of Taila II.

W. Chālukyas	Rāshṭrakūṭas	Pallavas and Chōlas	W. Gaṅgas	E. Chālukyas
609	742	696	726	709
Pulakēśin II	Dantidurga	Paramēśvara- laxman II		Vishṇuvardhana III
642	758	Nandivarman		746
655	775	Pallavamalla	Srīpurusha	Vijayāditya I
Vikramāditya I	Gōvinda and Dhruva		788	764
680	794			Vishṇuvardhana IV
696	Gōvinda III	761		799
Vijayāditya	813	Dantivarman	817	Vijayāditya II
733	Amoghavarsha			Narēndramiṅgarāja
Vikramāditya II			Rājamalla I	843
746	878	812	825	Kali Vishṇuvardhana V
Kīrttivarman II	Krishna II	Nandivarman III		844
758	914	844	870	Gunaga Vijayāditya III
Rāhappa	Indra II	Nripatunga		888
	917	Aparājita		Chālukya Bhima I
	Amoghavarsha II	888		918
	and Gōvinda IV	Āditya I		Amma I
	935	907		925
	Amoghavarsha III			Vikramāditya II
	940			926
	Krishna III	Parāntaka I		Yuddhamalla II
	968			934
				Chālukya Bhima II
				945
				Amma II
				970
		955		



ERRATA

PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
4	27	unearths	unearth
8	15	with	
11	1	copyists	copyist
21	33	insisted,	insisted.
21	33	in	In
32	16	bashyas	Bhāshyas
32	19	living	giving
32	22	sishtas	sishtas
34	3	affords	afford
35	1	notting	noting
36	11	are	is
36	23	belief	belief,
37	25	subtly	subtlety
38	9	Periyapurāṇam	Periyapurāṇam
42	24	agree	agrees
42	31	Paśastis	Pras'astis
44	9	indispensible	indispensable
46	4	descendent	descendant
47	2	descendent	descendant
47	7	descendent	descendant
48	34	feuda	feudal
49	2	descendent	descendants
49	19	Pattapi	Pottapi
49	21	do	do.
52	1	Kandhara	Kandara
52	14	Kandarāja	Kandararāja
52	15	do	do.
54	24	evidence	evident
55	5	he	the
56	4	rules	rulers
58	16	pullava	Pallava
58	16	witaut	without
61	4	rāshtrakūṭas	Rāshtrakūṭas
63	12	add	added
64	7	account	accounts
66	16	obivous	obvious
67	13	samāsana	samsēna
71	6	Palidhvajāvali	Palidhvajāvali
71	13	n	in
80	26	Ane	And
88	21	incarceratian	incarceration
115	column 3 line 3	Paramēśvara-laxman II	Paramēśvara-varman II